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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY
TO THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

VOLUME IV

HENRY THE EIGHTH.
EDWARD THE SIXTH.

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FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

TO

THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

BY

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VOLUME IV.

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EDWARD THE SIXTH.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE PEACE OF CREPY.

	PAGE
Efforts of Gardiner in England	1
The English Bible	2
Intrigue against Cranmer	5
Persecution at Windsor	6
Revision of the Persecuting Acts	9
Money voted for the War by Parliament	12
Remission of a Loan	13
Act of Succession	14
Persecution in Scotland	16
The Protestants of Perth	16
The Earl of Lennox joins the English Party	19
Henry prepares to invade Scotland	23
League with the Lords inclined to the English Alliance	24
Conspiracy to kill Beton	27
The English Fleet at Leith	32
Lord Hertford burns Edinburgh	35
War on the Borders	37
Intrigues of France to separate Charles and Henry	39
Meeting of the Diet of Speyer	41
Quarrels between Catholics and Protestants	43
The Edicts of Speyer	45
Plans for the Campaign in France	46

PAGE
Henry cannot accede to the Proposals of Charles .. 48
Treachery of German Mercenaries 51
The Emperor lays Siege to St Dizier 52
Separate Terms of Peace offered to England and refused 54
Ambiguous Attitude of Charles and Granvelle .. 55
Surrender of St Dizier 58
Secret Overtures to the Emperor 59
The Emperor marches into France 60
His Army is embarrassed, and he desires Peace .. 60
Mission of the Bishop of Arras to Henry 62
Siege and Capture of Boulogne by the English .. 63
Return of Arras with Henry's conditional Consent .. 65
The Emperor makes Peace without securing those Conditions 66
Remarks on the Emperor's Conduct 67
Letter of Remonstrance from the Pope to the Emperor 71
English Indignation at the Peace 75
The French attempt to surprise Boulogne 77
They fail and retreat 78
Conference at Calais 79
Secret Communication of Cardinal du Bellay .. 81
The Conference dissolves ineffectually 83
Embassy to Brussels 85
Letter of Gardiner to the Bishop of Arras 89
Remonstrances with the Emperor 91
Unfavourable Prospects 93
The German Princes offer their Services to England .. 95

CHAPTER XXII.

THE INVASION.

Expenses of the War 98
Demand for a Benevolence 99

PAGE

Alderman Reed 101
The French besiege Boulogne 103
Defeat of De Biez by Lord Hertford 104
Battle of Ancram Muir 107
Lord Hertford is sent to the Borders 109
Menacing Relations with the Empire 110
The Elector refuses to consent to an Anglo-Lutheran League 113
Isolation of England 114
Interview between Sir William Paget and the Emperor 116
Lamentations of Paget over the Wickedness of the World 120
The Council of Trent 121
Popularity of Henry in Northern Italy 123
The Diet of Worms 124
Preparations in France for the Invasion of England .. 126
English Force under Arms 127
The Fleet at Portsmouth 128
Arrival of the French at the Isle of Wight 131
Indecisive Action 132
Loss of the 'Mary Rose' and of 'La Maîtresse' .. 133
Skirmishes in the Island 135
Skirmish at Shanklin 138
Projected Attack upon the French Fleet 139
Slight Action off Shoreham 142
The Plague in the French Ships 143
Failure and Retreat 143
Inroads into Scotland 145
Siege of Boulogne 147
Francis of Lorraine 148
The French raise the Siege 149
Injuries and Reprisals between England and the Empire 151
Death of the Duke of Orleans 155
Meditated Treachery of the Catholic Powers .. 156
Conference at Brussels 159

PAGE

Second Conference at Calais 160
Female Intrigues at Paris 163
Terms offered by France 164
Diplomacy of Sir William Paget 166
Renewal of the War 168
The Closing Conference 171
Final Conditions of Peace 172
English Financial Difficulties 173
Triumph of Beton in Scotland 175
George Wishart 176
St Andrews on the 29th of May 181
Murder of Beton 182

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DEATH OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Progress of Internal Reform 185
The Influence of the Bible 187
Publication of the Litany in English 189
An English Prayer Book 190
The Dissolution of Chantries 193
Attempted Heresy Bill 195
The King's Last Speech in Parliament 197
Alarm of the Conservatives 199
Measures of Persecution 200
Examination of Latimer 202
History of Anne Ascue 204
Moderate Tendencies of the King 210
Fresh Offers to the Germans 211
Decay of the King's Health and Prospects of the Kingdom 213
Schemes of the Conservatives 214
Proceedings of the Earl of Surrey 216

PAGE
Depositions of Witnesses 217
Objects of the Conspiracy 221
General Conclusions from the Evidence 225
Meeting of Parliament and Attainder of Surrey and Norfolk 227
Death of the King 228
His last Will 229
His Character 236

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PROTECTORATE.

Constitution of the Body of Trustees 244
Last Directions of Henry VIII. 245
Lord Hertford is made Protector 247
Proposed Enlargement of the Peerage 249
The King's Will is imperfectly obeyed 251
State of the Currency 251
Reconstitution of the Episcopate 253
Deposition of the Lord Chancellor 254
The Protector takes out a new Commission 255
The Council of Trent 257
War in Germany 261
Dissolution of the League of Smalcalde 263
Proposed Invasion of England by the Emperor .. 264
The Council of Trent 266
Perils of England 267
Danger of a new War with France 268
England, Scotland, and France 270
The Castle of St Andrew's 271
The Protector proposes to invade Scotland 274
Progress of the Reformation 276
Remonstrances of Gardiner 277

PAGE

The Purification of the Churches 279
The Homilies and the General Visitation 280
Battle of Muhlberg 282
Fall of the Castle of St Andrew's 284
Invasion of Scotland 288
The Protector crosses the Border 289
Battle of Pinkie Cleugh 291
The Visitation 297
Imprisonment of Bonner 299
Remonstrances of Gardiner 300
Gardiner is Imprisoned 302
Return of the Protector 304
Meeting of Parliament 305
Repeal of the Penal Statutes 305
The Proctors of the Clergy demand Seats in Parliament 308
Vagrancy Acts 310
Chantries and Colleges Acts 312

CHAPTER XXV.

THE PROTECTORATE.

Alliance between France and Scotland 316
The English fortify Haddington 318
A French Army lands in Scotland 319
Convention of Haddington 320
Siege of Haddington 322
Fray between the French and Scots in Edinburgh . . 324
Night Attack of Haddington 325
The English lose ground 327
Differences with France 329
Diet of Augsburg 329
Differences between the Pope and the Emperor . . 332
The Interim 334

PAGE
The Protestant Preachers in England 340
Genevan Tendencies of the Reformers 340
Advice of Calvin to the Protector 341
Persecution of Gardiner 342
The Materials of Somerset House 348
The Social Revolution 350
Continued Debasement of the Currency 350
General Distress 352
The Protestant Creed 354
Moral Consequences of the Reformation 355
Landlord and Tenant 359
Luxury and Misery 360
The Enclosures' Commission 364
Lord Seymour of Sudleye 368
Seymour's Marriage with Catherine Parr 371
Seymour makes a Party against his Brother 374
He connects himself with the Channel Pirates .. 378
Catherine Parr dies 379
Seymour desires to marry Elizabeth 380
The English Prayer Book 382
The Real Presence 384
The First Act of Uniformity 386
Seymour is arrested 389
He refuses to answer the Questions of the Council .. 391
He is attainted by Act of Parliament 394
He is executed 395

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE FALL OF THE PROTECTOR.

Social Disorders 397
Boulogne is menaced by the French 400
Perils of England 402

PAGE

Spread of wild Opinions 403
The Protector's Mistakes 404
Heresy Commission 407
Popular Riots 408
The Rising of the West 409
The Barns of Crediton 412
Disputes between the Protector and the Council . . 415
Demands of the Western Rebels 416
The Protector's Dilemma 419
Advice of Sir William Paget 420
The Council act for themselves 423
Persecution of Bonner 423
Lord Grey in Oxfordshire 425
Siege of Exeter 427
Lord Russell at Honiton 429
Skirmish at Ferrington Bridge 429
St Mary's Clyst 430
Defeat of the Rebels 431
Battle of Sampford Courtenay 434
Martial Law 437
The Mayor of Bodmin 438
The Priest of St Thomas's 439
Ket's Rebellion in Norfolk 440
The Camp on Mousehold Hill 441
Defeat of Lord Northampton by the Insurgents . . 446
The Earl of Warwick is sent to put them down . . 447
Warwick at Norwich 450
Destruction of the Rebels in Duffindale 452
Close of the Insurrection 454
The Council of Trent 455
Approaching War between France and the Empire . . 457
The French attack Boulogne 460
Losses of the English 461
Results of the Administration of Somerset 462
The Council resolve to interfere 464

PAGE

They explain their Intentions to the Emperor . . 465
The Protector charges the Council with Treason . . 469
He attempts to raise the Country 470
He carries off the King to Windsor 473
Correspondence and Negotiation 474
Russell and Herbert declare against the Protector . . 477
Character of the Duke of Somerset 480
Message of Sir Philip Hoby 482
The Protector is sent to the Tower 485
Examination of the Public Accounts 485
Expenses of the Rebellion 487
The Currency 488

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REFORMED ADMINISTRATION.

Expectations of religious Reaction 492
Prospects of the Earl of Warwick 493
Rejection of an Appeal from Gardiner 494
Ecclesiastical Discipline 496
Treatment of Somerset 497
Negotiation for Peace with France 499
The French Exactions 501
Restoration of Boulogne and Conclusion of Peace . . 503
The Gospel in England 505
Effects of the Reformation 506
Public Corruption 509
Popular Anarchy 509
Latimer on the State of England 511
Sermon of Lever at Paul's Cross 514
Signs of better Times 515
Financial Difficulties 517
The Currency 518

PAGE

Artificial Prices 525
Burning of Joan Bocher 526
Protestant Persecution 528
Death of Paul III. 529
Cardinal Del Monte elected Pope 532
Charles V. and Germany 533
The Edict in the Low Countries 534
The Princess Mary and the Mass 537
Perils of the Nation 538
Fresh Differences with France 539
The Anti-English Faction at Paris 543
Persecution of Gardiner 546
Death and Funeral of Lady Seymour 551
Persecution of Gardiner 553
The Consecration of Bishops 555
The Vestment Controversy 556
The Princess Mary's Mass 562
Menaces of the Emperor 563
The Princess refuses to yield 565
Edward and the Bishops 567
State of Italy 569
The French Court revives the Policy of Francis I. . . 570
War in Italy 573

CHAPTER XXI.

THE PEACE OF CREPY.

THE Anglo-Catholics had established their supremacy in the destruction of their great enemy, and in the rupture with the Protestants of the Continent; but they had feared to compromise their success by an indiscretion like that which before had spoiled their triumph. They had been forced to content themselves with a power of persecution, which, after the martyrdoms of Barnes and his companions, they had scarcely dared to employ; and Gardiner, the leading spirit of the party, perceived acutely that his victory was but half won, that at any moment it might be snatched from him, unless he could lay a check on the free circulation of the Scriptures. In the face of the King's resolution a direct movement for such a purpose, he knew, would be hopeless. But the Bishop of Winchester was as dexterous as he was resolute; and a side route might conduct him to his object when the open road was closed.

From 1536, when the vicar-general's injunctions

directed every parish priest to supply his church with a copy of the whole Bible, editions, based all of them on the translation of Tyndal, followed each other in rapid succession. The bishops, who had undertaken to supply a version satisfactory to Catholic orthodoxy, had still left their work untouched. The King would not be trifled with. The Bible, in some shape, his subjects should possess; and if unsupplied by the officials of the Church, he would accept the services of volunteers whose heart was in their labours. Coverdale's edition was followed, in 1537, by Matthews's, 'printed with the King's most gracious license;'[1] and the same version, after being revised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was reprinted in 1538, 1539, 1540, and 1541, under the name of 'The Great Bible,' or 'Cranmer's Bible.' The offence in Tyndal's translation was less in the rendering of the words than in the side-notes, prefaces, and commentaries: by the omission of these the Archbishop had been able to preserve the text almost without change.

Simultaneously, however, other editions were put in circulation, with the private connivance of Cromwell, where the same prudence had not been observed. In 1539 appeared 'Taverner's Bible,' with a summary at the commencement 'of things contained in Holy Scripture,' in which Protestantism of an audacious kind was openly professed. The priesthood was denied; masses and purgatory were ignored; the sacraments were described as nothing but outward signs; and the eucharist

[1] Matthews's name is supposed to have been fictitious. There is no real difference between his version and that of Coverdale.

as a memorial supper, without sacrificial character, figurative or real. The publication was imprudent. Complaint was certain, and would be recognized as just. On the death of his patron, Taverner paid for his rashness by an imprisonment in the Tower; and, although he was soon released, and grew to favour at the Court, yet Henry so far listened to the remonstrances of the Church authorities as to forbid the sale of unauthorized editions; and in 1542 the Convocation was informed that the text of the Great Bible itself was to undergo an examination. The errors of translation were said to be in the New Testament rather than the Old. The Gospels and Epistles were divided into fifteen parts, and were distributed among the Bench.

The learned prelates, or two-thirds of them, desired to find blemishes; they had no intention of correcting them. Gardiner presented a list of nearly a hundred words, for which the English language was too heretical to have provided an equivalent, and which therefore must be left in Latin; and Cranmer, aware that the real wish was to suppress the translation altogether, appealed to the King, and relieved them of an occupation which they would discharge so indifferently. The quarrel ended in a compromise. The original editions of Tyndal, which were accompanied with his annotations, were prohibited under penalties. The Bible, as edited by Cranmer, was left untampered with; but a temporary limitation was imposed, perhaps wisely, upon its indiscriminate use.

The Parliament—for the Parliament was the only

body which could reasonably compose an ecclesiastical dispute—declared[1] that, although the King had permitted the Bible in English to be read by his subjects, 'that they might increase in virtue for the wealth of their souls,' 'and although his Majesty's godly purpose and intent had taken good effect in a great multitude of his subjects, especially the highest and most honest sort,' yet that the young and the ignorant had been led rather to dishonour the book than to derive from it wholesome instruction. It was wrangled over in alehouses and taprooms. It was disfigured 'in rhymes, printed ballads, plays, songs, and other fantasies.' Scandalous brawls and controversies disgraced the churches where it was placed for the people to read. Noisy, vain, arrogant persons took upon themselves to be expounders and interpreters; and 'the word of God,' instead of producing piety and sober demeanour, was an occasion of faction, and endangered the peace of the kingdom. 'Until,' therefore, 'and unless the King's Majesty, perceiving such reformation in their lives and behaviour, should of his clemency think good otherwise to enlarge and give liberty for the reading of the same,' the Lords and Commons considered that the use of the Bible should be confined to those who could read it beneficially. Unordained persons were prohibited from preaching or holding discussions upon it in public; and farm-servants, journeymen, apprentices, women,

[1] 34 and 35 Henry VIII. cap. 1.

and children were to be contented to learn from their masters or the heads of their families.[1]

Though falling far short of Gardiner's desires, this measure was an evidence of his influence. The completion of the alliance with Charles V. was a still more emphatic victory. So long desired, so long apparently hopeless, this connection promised the triumph in Europe of the same policy which he was labouring to establish in England. It promised a council which, supported by two powerful sovereigns, would reimpose upon the world the Catholic creed, modified in the single article of the Papal supremacy. And now he believed that he might show his colours more bravely. Cromwell was gone; but while Cranmer remained, he had a rival who was still able to thwart him, whose influence with the Crown, so long as it continued, impaired the completeness of the reaction, and checked persecution. He would strike a blow then boldly at the Archbishop; and when this obstacle was disposed of, his course would be easy.

He wove his intrigues. He arranged his snare. His prey was within his grasp, when Henry calmly interposed, and rent the scheme to atoms.[2] 'Thus far,

---

[1] The following curious memorial survives of the reception of the Act among the people. A shepherd bought a book of Polydore Virgil's, and wrote upon a spare leaf, 'When I kepe Mr Letymers shepe, I bout this boke when the Testament was oberragated, that shepeheryds might not rede it I prey God amende that blyndenes.' 'Writ by Robert Wyllyams, kepping shepe uyon Seynbury Hill, 1546.'—LEWIS'S *History of the Bible*, p. 150.

[2] The story of Cranmer's danger

and no further,' was the stern answer which checked the zeal of conservatism; and the blow which the Bishop had aimed was fatal in its recoil. It was not every one who had the skill or the dishonesty to eliminate out of Catholicism the one only element which it was inconvenient or dangerous to retain. His secretary, Germayn Gardiner, developed orthodoxy into Romanism. He was caught under the Supremacy Act; and the death which the Bishop designed for Cranmer fell upon his own kinsman.

A failure so instructive might have warned Gardiner of the dangerous ground on which he was treading. But the treaty had heated his fancy. He had missed his stroke at the Archbishop, but meaner victims were still attainable. The Bill of the Six Articles was the law of the land. It had received a second emphatic sanction from Parliament; and the King could not intend that it should be defied with impunity. The town of Windsor, and even the royal household, were reported to be impregnated with heresy. Dr London, the Warden of New College, was now a prebendary of St George's, and was ready with his services to assist in the purification. With the assistance of the prebendary and of a Windsor attorney named Ockham, evidence was collected or invented to sustain a charge against four of the townsmen, Robert Testwood, Anthony Peerson, Henry

and escape is familiar to us through SHAKSPEARE'S *Henry the Eighth*, and is related at length in STRYPE'S *Biography*. The general outline is no doubt correct. Unfortunately I have been unable to discover a contemporary authority which will allow me to place confidence in the details, or to repeat them.

Filmer, and John Marbeck—while Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Thomas Carden, and other gentlemen belonging to the privy chamber, were accused of supporting and encouraging them.

Peerson's crime was that, two years before, he had said that 'like as Christ was hanged between two thieves, even so, when the priest is at mass and lifteth Him up over his head, then He hangeth between two thieves, except the priest preach the word of God truly.'

Filmer was charged with having called the sacrament of the altar a similitude. 'If it was God,' he had said, 'then in his lifetime he had eaten twenty Gods.'

Testwood had told a priest, when lifting up the Host, to take care he did not let Him fall.

Marbeck, the most obnoxious of the four, had made a Concordance of the Bible.

The accusations were probably true, although the evidence was obtained with the help of spies and traitors. It sufficed for its purpose; the prisoners were convicted, and were sentenced, in the ordinary form, to be burned. On the morning on which they were to suffer, a pardon, through private interference, was obtained for Marbeck—who, in fact, had broken no law, just or unjust, and whose death would have been a murder, even technically. The other three satisfied the orthodoxy of the Bishop of Winchester by perishing on the meadow in front of Windsor Castle.

But if the minds of men had been slow to change, their hearts had changed in spite of themselves. The time was gone when either king or nation could look

complacently on these hideous spectacles. The traditions of centuries could not be overthrown in a day. The letter of the heresy law might be reasserted with emphasis by a people eager to escape from a name which they had been taught to dread; but the influences of a purer creed had stolen insensibly over their feelings. Dr London, in his eagerness to make a case against the gentlemen of the household, had blundered into perjury. They laid the circumstances of the prosecutions before Henry, and two of the judges who had sat on the trial were sent for and examined. The insidious conspiracy was unfolded; and the judges 'told the King plainly' that, although with the evidence which was produced an acquittal was impossible, 'they had never sat on any matter under his Grace's authority which went so much against their conscience, as the deaths of these men.' Fifteen years before, heretics had been venomous reptiles, to be trampled out with exultation and hatred. Now, even those who had been forced by the law to pass sentence on them could express their remorse to the King, and the King, as they spoke, turned away, saying, 'Alas, poor innocents!'[1]

But Henry did not content himself with pity. Gardiner, the chief delinquent, could not be touched; but his wretched instruments were tried for false swearing, and were convicted. Dr London, stripped of his dignities, was compelled to ride through the streets of Windsor, Newbury, and Reading, with his face to the horse's

[1] HALL'S *Chronicle*; FOXE, vol. v.

tail, and a paper on his head setting forth that he was a detected perjurer. In each town he was placed in a pillory, where every voice might revile and every hand might hurl filth at him; and then he was thrust away into the Fleet Prison, where he miserably died.

These events happened towards the fall of 1543, amidst the heat and eagerness of the preparations for war. The punishment of a worthless ecclesiastic was not the only result which followed from the persecution.

Parliament was called for the 14th of January; and although it was meeting for a session unusually busy, it could find time to limit the opportunities of cruelty which it had lately bestowed. The Six Articles Bill had been provoked by excesses and extravagances. It was still necessary to leave the bishops some weapon to repress disorder; but it should be a weapon with a blunter edge. 1544.

A recent statute, said the preamble of the new measure, had established that offenders convicted of specified heresies should suffer pains of death: 'But in as much as, by force of the same statute, secret and untrue accusations and presentments might be maliciously conspired against the King's subjects, and kept secret unrevealed, that such as were accused should not have knowledge thereof until a time might be espied to have them by malice convicted, to the great peril and danger of the King's Majesty's subjects, if the same statute should not be tempered or qualified; and to the intent that all presentments and indictments of such offences as were contained in the said statute should be taken in

open and manifest courts, by the oaths of twelve indifferent persons, according to good equity and conscience; and also that the inquiries and trials of and upon such indictments might justly and charitably proceed without corruption or malice;' it should be now enacted, that no person should be arraigned for any offence under the Act of the Six Articles except on presentment by twelve men, made either before a special commission, or before justices of the peace sitting in sessions, or before the judges of the assize; again, that such presentment must be made within twelve months of the alleged commission of the offence; and, further, that no person might be arrested before his indictment, except under a warrant from a privy councillor or from two justices of the peace, one of whom must be a layman. If the offence consisted of spoken words, the depositions must be taken within forty days of the time of utterance; and the accused persons should be allowed to challenge the jury.[1]

The tone of the Act, as well as the substance of it, indicates the direction in which the tide was once more setting. We no longer hear of 'the foul and detestable crime of heresy.' The penalties were not changed, but the object was not any more to ensure the infliction of them, but to throw obstacles in the way of persecution.

The Emperor meanwhile, notwithstanding his success in Gueldres, was unable to maintain the attitude of menace towards the Lutheran princes which he had for a moment assumed. He was in no condition, while his

[1] 35 Henry VIII. cap. 5.

quarrel with France lay on his hands, to come to a rupture with the Smalcaldic League. He required rather a support of men and money from the Diet, where the Protestants had a majority; and either he was scandalously playing with their credulity, or was provoked into real indecision on the great question of religion by the support which the Pope, notwithstanding his ambassador's remonstrances, persisted in lending to Francis. In Italy, Germany, and England it was alike at this time expected that, if he declined to encourage an Anglo-German council, he would allow the States of the Empire to settle their differences in a national synod. Henry sent him as a present the 'Institution of a Christian Man,'[1] which Granvelle undertook to make the favourite study of his leisure; and in England, in consequence, there was everything to recommend and nothing to make distasteful the alliance. Commercial interests, hereditary traditions, the conscious need of forgiveness for the divorce of his aunt, would unite with the common support of a moderate religion to reconnect

[1] 'Further, ye shall receive herewith four books of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, set forth first in English by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his learned men for the establishment of Christian religion amongst his Highness's subjects, and now lately translated into Latin. And for as much as it is thought that at this assembly [the Diet at Spires] matters of religion shall be diversely debated of sundry men, his Highness hath thought convenient to send the said books unto you to the intent it might appear to the Emperor how conformable to Christ's doctrine the learning is which his Majesty hath ordained to be taught.' —The Privy Council to Wotton: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 615. 'M. de Granvelle received the book thankfully, and said it should be his daily study after supper; for all the rest of the day he never had any rest or leisure.'—Wotton to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 624.

the country with Charles V.; while France was 'the antient enemy,' the usurper, as men still had not forgotten, of the fair provinces on the Continent which had once been the inheritance of the English sovereigns.

In this spirit the public relations of the country were accepted by Parliament with the expenses which those relations would entail. When the war broke out the exchequer was empty. The first payment of the subsidy which had been granted in the year preceding had not as yet fallen due, and the King, in anticipation of the approaching return, had applied for a loan which had been raised in graduated proportions from the ordinary tax-payers. He had in fact required and received a portion of the parliamentary grant a few months before its time. The people, who were aware that a war involved a war taxation, submitted without complaining to a proceeding which was manifestly necessary. On the meeting of Parliament the accounts of the expenditure were produced for inspection; and the legislature being prepared, as a matter of course, to find supplies, and knowing that the subsidy in itself would now be insufficient, by a retrospective sanction converted the loan into an additional tax, and left their original grant still to be collected in its integrity. The King of France, they said, in justification of their resolution, owed a large debt to England which he refused to pay. He had betrayed Europe to the Turks; he had provoked the Scotch to break their engagements. 'His Majesty, therefore, was forced, and could of his honour no less do but determine himself, by the help of Almighty God, to

levy war and prosecute his enemies with the sword, trusting so to bring them to reasonable conditions: and his loving subjects, considering it was their office and duty to support his Majesty in all just quarrels with their bodies, lands, and substance, and minding to bear with his Highness in this his most gracious and godly enterprise, calling to remembrance that certain sums of money had been advanced to his Highness by way of loan—which sums of money, as was notoriously known, his Highness had fully and wholly converted and employed [1] for the commonwealth and defence of the realm —declared that all such loans should be finally remitted and released.'

The funds being thus provided, at least for immediate necessities, it remained, since the King was going in person into France, to make arrangements for his possible death in the course of the campaign. In 1536, when he seemed to be without a legitimate child, he had been empowered to fix the succession by his will.[2] There was now a prince, and although from the present Queen there was no visible prospect of issue, yet it was necessary to provide for the possibility of further issue being born. A will, as the law stood, would have been

[1] 35 Henry VIII. cap. 12. I confess myself unable to see the impropriety of this proceeding, or to understand the censures which historians have so freely lavished upon it: unless, indeed, they have believed that all wars in any generation but their own are necessarily unjust, and all taxation tyranny; or have believed that the Parliament was generous to the King at the expense of a limited number of credulous and injured capitalists. On a question of taxation, the proof of contemporary complaint is the only justification of historical disapprobation.

[2] 28 Henry VIII. cap. 7.

a sufficient instrument; but Henry, sensible, as he said, 'of the trust and confidence that his loving subjects had placed in him,' desired to exercise the power which they had bestowed 'with the knowledge and consent of Parliament.' It was enacted, therefore, briefly, that from Henry the crown should pass to Prince Edward. If the prince died without issue, and there were no other legitimate children, it should descend to the Lady Mary, under conditions which the King in his will would determine. If Mary died without issue, it should go to Elizabeth under the same restrictions. The three children might all fail; but beyond this point it was thought imprudent to make a public disposition. The Queen of Scots was next of blood in the collateral line; and the possibility of the succession of a Queen of Scots could be neither admitted for the present, nor wisely denied for the future.[1] This point, therefore, was left to the future judgment of Henry.

His decision would probably depend on the result of the opening war. Weary years of persevering forbearance had concluded in a final effort of liberality. The King had offered peace in return for invasion, and the union of the Crowns on equal terms as a reward for incurable hostility. The Scotch Estates had first petitioned for his mercy, then accepted his proposals; had sworn to observe them, and then immediately had flung them back in scorn. The noblemen who had volunteered to serve him, had broken faith through mingled weakness

[1] 35 Henry VIII. cap. 1.

and fickleness. The Douglases, who had so long been his pensioners, were now beyond doubt playing a double game. They had signed a bond to give the crown to Henry if the treaty was broken. They had now signed a second with the Cardinal against their 'auld enemies of England;' and although the Earl of Angus still sent private assurances that in secret he was true to the King, the word of a man who was a traitor to one side or the other could no longer be depended on.[1] Arran was passive in the hands of Beton; and Beton, the undisputed master of Scotland, was making rapid use of his opportunities of evil. A specimen of his administration in the January of this year, 1544, will illustrate the purpose for which he was seeking power, and the spirit from the dominion of which the King of England was labouring to rescue the unhappy country.

Lord Ruthven, the hereditary Provost of Perth, was one of the few nobles who had looked favourably on the Reformers, and within the limits of his jurisdiction the leaven had dangerously spread. In the late autumn, on Allhallows eve, a noticeable scene had taken place in the church of the town. A friar, in the course of a sermon, told the people that the morrow was the day in which they were to offer for their fathers' souls in purgatory. One of his audience, a man named Robert Lamb, stood up, holding a Bible in his hand, and exclaimed, 'I charge you in the name of Christ Jesus, whose verity is here written, that ye teach nothing to

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 355—359

his people except his only truth. If ye otherwise do, here is the book of his truth to bear witness against you in the day of the Lord.' The congregation was divided, but the speaker had but few friends, the friar had many. 'The baily of the town called for fire and faggot.' The baillie's sister 'threw her keys in Lamb's face,' and 'called him a false thief.' It was with some difficulty that he was dragged alive out of the crowd. Men called him unwise to be meddling in matters with which he had no concern. He replied that he must do the work of the Lord, and he would be happy if he suffered for his faith.

Men who can find their happiness in suffering need not be left long to wish for it. The story was reported to Beton, and after the separation of the Estates, which had met in December, the Cardinal, accompanied by the Regent, proceeded to Perth to inquire and punish. On arriving, he found that Lamb was not the only criminal of whom the Church dignitaries complained. A nest of heretics was rooted out; wicked men who, in defiance of proclamations, had eaten meat on fast days and had been disrespectful to the saints, and a wicked woman who in childbirth had declined to call upon the Virgin for assistance.

A court was held in the Grey Friars' place. On the same Allhallows eve it was proved that the heretic who had interrupted the friar had held a feast at his house. Indictments were found against the party, where the offending woman, the wife of one of the others, had been also present. They were brought in guilty of

having eaten when they ought to have remained hungry; of having reasoned on Scripture when Scripture was beyond their understanding; of having interrupted a holy man in the exercise of his duty; and they were sentenced, four of them, to death. Lest their friends should interfere at the execution, the Cardinal's guard was under arms to make sure work. The three male prisoners were brought out to the scaffold; the woman —her name was Helen Stirk—was taken to see her husband suffer before she followed him. She had the baby in her arms whom God had given her, though she had left the Virgin uninvoked; and as she, too, was to die, she desired to die with the rest. But this was not permitted. They embraced under the gallows. 'Husband,' she said, 'we have lived together many joyful days; but this day in which we must die ought to be most joyful to us both, because we must have joy for ever. Therefore I will not bid you good night. Suddenly we shall meet again in the kingdom of heaven.' The executioners seized their prey, and she, too, was then led away to be drowned—the punishment of warlocks and witches. The road led past the Grey Friars', where Beton was still in session. 'Ah!' she said, 'they sit in that place quietly who are the cause of our death this day; but He who seeth this execution upon us shall shortly see their nest shaken.' When they reached the water's edge she gave the child to a nurse; she was hurled in—and the justice of the Church was satisfied.[1]

[1] CALDERWOOD'S *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i.; KNOX'S *History of the Reformation*.

'Thus ceased not Satan,' says Knox, 'by all means to maintain his kingdom of darkness, and to suppress the light of Christ's evangel. But potent is He against whom they fought; for when the wicked were in greatest security, God began to show his anger.' The Cardinal returned to St Andrew's. His own dungeons, too, were stocked with offenders of the same stamp and kind. The body of one of them, a friar, whom Knox calls 'godly learned,' was found one morning, when the day broke, stiff and stark, upon the rocks below the Sea Tower; and dark tales were whispered of murder in the vaults of the castle.[1]

This was Scotland as the Pope desired to have it, and the Cardinal had preserved it. Law and order and government so far were on their side. It was to be seen whether the higher laws of truth and justice were still able to execute themselves. Henry VIII., in a letter to the Emperor, described the Scotch nobility as little better than wild beasts, sometimes hunting in a pack, sometimes tearing each other to pieces; but governed, so far as he could see, whether separate or united, only by a greedy ferocity. The Reformers alone were his true and cordial friends—men who with a nobler faith had assumed a nobler nature; whose eye was single; whose words were safer than the 'bonds' of the lords. But, false and faithless as he had found the latter, he was forced to maintain among them some kind of party; and their mutual hatreds never left him long without

[1] KNOX: *History of the Reformation.*

adherents whose interest for a time brought them over to his side. In January the whole nation seemed to be united under the Cardinal. In a few weeks 'the English earls' were again proffering their services and again inviting an invasion.

The change had been effected on this occasion through the Earl of Lennox—a new ally, converted to the English interests by a mortified ambition and an eagerness for revenge.

When the Earl of Arran was in his better mind, and the Parliament was tolerating the Protestants, Beton had introduced Lennox from France as a rival for the regency, supposing that he would be an easy instrument, whom he might use while his name was a convenience, and might cast aside when needed no longer. Lennox had served his purpose well. The gathering at Stirling had been made efficient through the influence of his family, and to him chiefly the Cardinal was indebted for the capture of the Queen. But, on Arran's submission, he had lost his importance. The existing Government, so long as it was compliant and obedient, answered the ends of the Church by its feebleness; and, in the arrogance of his success, the Cardinal took little pains to conciliate a nobleman whom he regarded as his creature, or reconcile him to the change in his policy. Lennox was affronted at the slight, and exasperated at the disappointment. Perhaps, too, the higher qualities which he exhibited in later life influenced his judgment. He passed over from the French to the English faction, and at once proceeded to give proof of his intended

usefulness in his new career. He had the custody of the castle of Dumbarton, where a supply of powder and thirty thousand crowns had been landed for the use of the Government. He refused to surrender either the castle or its contents. The Earl of Angus recovered courage at this accession of strength; Lennox joined him in a letter to Henry, in which the past was apologized for, and the English army was invited to hasten across the Border; and, as a cement to the new friendship, the Earl of Lennox professed himself a suitor for the hand of Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter of Angus and the niece of the King.[1]

February.

There was no occasion to press Henry to speed. With or without assistance from a native faction, he had resolved this time to teach the Scots that, although engaged with France, he was really able to punish them; and he was making his preparations on a scale which they could not easily resist. Two hundred ships were collected at Newcastle, which would land at Leith ten thousand men. Four thousand horses were to advance from Berwick under Lord Evers, and join them before the walls of Edinburgh.

The Cardinal being openly supported by the Pope, Henry would not relinquish the desire of committing the Emperor in the quarrel. The treaty had made no distinction in enemies; and he requested an auxiliary force of a thousand Spaniards; not so much, he avowed, for the increase of strength which they would bring to

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 361, &c.

him, as 'to have an occasion given to the world to think and see that there was a mutual and reciprocal affection in each one of them to take the other's cause as his own.'[1]

The move was made skilfully; but Charles, too, was a delicate player in the game of state-craft. His Spanish troops, he replied, were distributed in garrisons from which he regretted the impossibility of sparing them. For declaring the Scots to be enemies, which Henry had also desired, he would do it gladly, if his good brother would explain whether he was at war with them as a nation, or only with a particular faction. Henry, as he well knew, would be embarrassed to answer. He could therefore safely express his anxious interest in the success of the invasion. The excuses could only be admitted. Cardinal Granvelle affected to reveal to the English resident any secret intelligence connected with Beton's movements which fell in his way; and, as professions were made in abundance, and the sympathy stopped short only where active measures would be necessary, Henry could not press his request. His own strength was sufficient for his purpose; and, after all, it was suggested the Emperor might embarrass as much as assist. If the two princes were at war with the same enemy, neither might make peace without consulting the other upon the conditions; and, supposing the English army to obtain any marked advantage, some jealousy might be felt—some alarm lest, if Scotland

[1] The Privy Council to Wotton: ibid. vol. ix. p. 577.

were annexed or prostrated, England might become dangerously strong, and they might thus be prevented from reaping the full benefit of their victory.[1]

Without the Emperor's assistance a force sufficient to punish Scotland would soon be thrown upon the unfortunate country. Francis was so much alarmed for the possible consequences, that he recommended (or proposed to recommend) the Regent to pretend to make concessions again, to ward off the danger.[2] In the beginning of March a French force, ten thousand strong, was embarked in Normandy, to go to his assistance. But the wind was foul, the men for some cause were mutinous, and the transports were obliged to return;[3] and, as the Scots themselves made light of the danger, a second effort was not made to send them. The Cardinal, strangely, felt no alarm. He was unable to believe that Henry could do serious in-

March.

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[1] 'If the Emperor declare the Scots common enemies, then, although the King's Highness might bring the Scots to that point that he might have an honourable peace and to his advantage with them, yet the Emperor for envy, or for because he would not have the King's Highness too strong or too sure on that side, would find out any coloured cavillation why to dissent from any article of the said peace, then should it take none effect.'—Wotton to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 602.

[2] 'Granvelle told me,' Wotton wrote to the King in cypher on the 20th February, 'for a great secret, that the French King with his council have concluded that the Scots shall make a fair face to your Majesty, and bear you in hand and promise that they will deliver the Queen Dowager and her daughter into your hands; howbeit, when it shall come to the point, they shall do clear contrary: and that the Duke of Guise should then say he was contented that the Scots should say so; but rather than she should be so delivered, he would cut her throat with his own hands.'—Ibid. p. 603.

[3] Layton to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 606.

jury beyond wasting the Borders as usual, and it seems that both he and the King allowed their hopes to deceive them. Beton was to find that the English had a long arm. Henry—who, if he did not aim at a conquest, expected to establish a substantial protectorate—would discover the obstinate nationality of the Scottish people to be as hard to deal with as it had been found by his predecessors.

His plan, as at first conceived, was to seize and fortify Leith, and, if possible, the Castle of Edinburgh. Dumbarton would be placed in his hands by Lennox, and the Earl of Angus would admit a garrison into Tantallon, if his present humour held. In possession of four, or even three, strong fortresses in the heart of the kingdom—so situated that, with the command of the sea, he could throw supplies into them at his pleasure—he expected that, without difficulty, he could re-establish the English party in a decisive superiority, and secure the persons of the obnoxious lords and churchmen.

With these avowed objects, a convention was drawn between the English Government and the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn.[1] On their side the two noblemen engaged—

1. That to their power they would cause the Word

[1] Angus and Cassilis were originally included, 'but upon knowledge of the manifest appearance of the untrue and disloyal behaviour of the Earl of Angus, and also the disloyal revolt and untruth, contrary to all men's expectations, of the Earl of Cassilis giving himself to the part of the Earl of Arran and the Cardinal,' the King refused to place further confidence in them.—*State Papers*, vol. v. p. 385. Cassilis afterwards cleared himself. The Cardinal had arrested him under suspicion of correspondence with the English.

of God to be truly taught and preached, as the true and only foundation from whence proceedeth all truth and honour, and whereby they might judge who proceeded with them godly and justly, and who abused them for their own glory and purpose.

2. That they would remain constant to England; and abjure all friendship, alliance, or connection with the French King.

3. That, to the best of their ability, they would endeavour to prevent the Queen from being taken to France; and, if they could obtain possession of her person, they would send her without delay to London, there to be educated until she came of age for her marriage with the Prince of Wales.

4. That, on the approach of the English army, they would unite with it with all the force which they could raise, and accept and obey the King as director and protector of the realm.

If the earls observed these conditions, Henry undertook that their lands should not be injured in the invasion, that Glencairn should have a pension of a thousand crowns, and Lennox should have the regency, under conditions of general obedience to advice from England. If the Queen died, the claim of Lennox to the succession should be recognized in preference to that of Arran; and for the marriage which he desired with the Lady Margaret, as soon as he should have performed some notable service, the King said that, if the lady had no objection, he would make none himself; but experience had taught him to beware of marriages

arranged by third parties for political convenience. 'We have promised our niece,' he said, 'never to cause her to marry any man but whom she shall find in her own heart to love.' [1]

The submission of the Earl of Angus to the Cardinal had prevented the King from admitting him to a share in this agreement. His returning protestations had failed to recover his favour; and though, in conjunction with Lennox, he had volunteered an offer to assist the English army, Henry would have the restoration of his confidence purchased by some active service. But, if the King would not receive him as a party to a compact, he did not absolutely reject his advances. The Earl of Angus, he said, now desired an invasion: if he had been less vacillating and uncertain, the relations of the two countries would not have been in a state to require so harsh a remedy. 'Therefore, my lord,' he wrote to him, 'if you esteem your honour, and that reputation of your manhood which we have of long time conceived of you, bestir yourself at this present, and play the man. Lay apart all fond affections, and suffer not yourself, being a nobleman and noted a man of courage, to be overcome with delicateness—now at this time specially, when you should show yourself industrious, for the preservation of your credit both towards us and all the rest of the world that knoweth

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 365. 'If,' he added, 'our said niece and he, seeing one another, shall agree and well like for that purpose, we shall agree to such order touching the said marriage as shall be to the Earl's contentation.'—Ibid. p. 389.

you. You have tasted much of our liberality before you have deserved any; and if you shall serve us now frankly, and as our goodness in times past doth require, think not but you shall serve a prince that hath yet in store much liberality to you.'[1]

The Earl of Hertford had been selected to command the expedition, supported by Lord Shrewsbury and Lord Lisle. His orders on entering Scotland were to proclaim the King of England guardian of the Queen and protector of the realm; and especially Henry directed that, in every town and village, he should nail a placard on the church-doors, signifying that the Scots had to thank the Cardinal for the sufferings inflicted by the war, and but for him they would have been in peace and quietness.[2] By the 18th of April the army was ready to embark. The gentlemen, in their zeal for the public service, had given up their horses for the transport-service; and the whole force were in high spirits, 'reporting themselves as intending, without respect or care of delicate feeding or much rest, to spare no pain of their bodies to serve the King's Highness.'[3]

April.

As the certainty of the gathering peril became known in Scotland, overtures, honest and dishonest, came thick to the English general. A messenger appeared with promises of service from Lord Maxwell. Another followed with a warning that Maxwell was

[1] Henry VIII. to the Earl of Angus: HAINES' *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 19.

[2] Paget to Hertford: ibid. p. 12.

[3] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 384.

treacherous. One week Lennox was reported to be wavering, and Angus to have again relapsed to Beton. The next week brought news that Angus and his brother were prisoners in Blackness. Among the various offers and informations, one proposal was made which requires particular mention, affecting as it does the character of a remarkable party and of many remarkable men.

In the novelty of a first acquaintance with the Old Testament, the Scotch Protestants beheld in the history of the chosen people a counterpart of their own position. They, too, were a 'remnant' whom idolatrous tyrants would compel to burn incense to Baal. They, too, were betrayed by apostate governors who had turned away from the truth and had joined with the enemies of the Lord. And seeing how, under 'the covenant,' the oppressors were disposed of—how the letter of the law was set aside by the spirit—how the Ehuds, the Jaels, the Jehus, the Jehoiadas—how those who smote tyrants in the field with the sword, or in the closet with the dagger, were accounted faithful servants,—they imagined that conduct which in the Bible was emphatically applauded was a safe precedent for imitation.[1] As

[1] The ordinary rules of conduct will not, and cannot, act as a restraint upon minds possessed with religious passion, whatever be their religious opinions. The higher obligation supersedes and dispenses with the lower. The plots to murder Elizabeth and William of Orange received the sanction of the Popes; a medal, struck at Rome, commemorated the massacre of St Bartholomew; and the Powder-plot conspirators were conscious only that they were attempting a sacred duty. It is startling, however, to find Sir Thomas More applying the principle of assassination to ordinary war: and if not justifying the actual perpe-

Jezebel's priests appeared to Elijah, so seemed Cardinal David Beton to the Protestant leaders.

In the middle of April a Scot 'named Wishart' came down to the Borders to Hertford,[1] with an offer

trators of murder, yet defending their employment by others. His words are curious, and, as coming from a man whose conscience was punctiliously sensitive, they may explain many obscure passages in the history of the sixteenth century. 'As soon,' he says, 'as they (the Utopians) declare war, they take care to have a great many schedules sealed with their common seal affixed in the most conspicuous places of their enemies' country. In these they promise great rewards to such as shall kill the prince, and less in proportion to such as shall kill any other persons who are those on whom, next to the prince himself, they cast the chief blame of the war. The rewards which they offer are immeasurably great, and they observe the promises which they make of this kind most religiously. They very much approve of the way of corrupting their enemies, though it appears to others to be base and cruel. But they look at it as a wise course to make an end of what would be otherwise a long war without so much as hazarding a battle; they think it, likewise, an act of mercy and love to mankind to prevent the great slaughter of those that must be killed in the progress of the war by the death of a few that are most guilty.'—MORE's *Utopia;* BURNET's Translation.

[1] The question has been debated with some eagerness whether this person was the Wishart whose death became afterwards so famous; both the friends and the enemies of the reforming preacher seeming to agree that, if the two were identical, his character would suffer some injury. Wishart was a common name in Scotland, and the evidence, therefore, can amount but to a vague probability. I see no reason to believe, however, that the Martyr of St Andrew's was so different from his Protestant countrymen as to have been unlikely to have been the messenger to Hertford, or to have sympathized cordially in the message. The progress of civilization, measured by the comparative morality of various periods, presents many perplexities; nor may we lightly compare ourselves to our own absolute advantage with the generation to which we owe the Reformation. It is a fact, however, in which we may acquiesce with no undue self-complacency, that the expedient of assassination, which the general sense of the present time disapproves under almost every condition of circumstances, was admitted and approved in the sixteenth century by the best men of all persuasions. Even when in India we still offer rewards for the capture of dangerous rebels, dead or alive, we are

from old Sir James Kirkaldy, Norman Leslie the eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, and other gentlemen, to raise a force in Fife, if the King of England would supply the funds for it, to co-operate with his Majesty's invading army, to burn Arbroath and other places belonging to the extreme party in the Church, to arrest and imprison the principal opponents of the English alliance, and 'either apprehend or slay' the Cardinal himself. They would use their best efforts to succeed. If they failed, they begged to know whether England would give them shelter.[1] The proposal, under any aspect, was important. Hertford, declining to give an answer on his own responsibility, referred the messenger to the King; and Henry, whose position obliged him to look at facts as they were, rather than through conventional forms, saw no reason to discourage the despatch of a public enemy. He regarded Beton as a traitor to the two countries—as guilty, individually and personally, of the impending war; and as he had repeatedly urged Arran to seize him while Arran was loyal, he chose to regard his own friends, after Arran's defection, as the representatives of lawful authority. 'After our hearty commendations unto your good lordship,' the council replied to the English commander, 'these shall be to signify to you that this bearer Wishart hath been with the King's Majesty, and, for his credence, declared even the same matters in substance whereof your lordship hath written hither; and hath received for answer touching the feat

obliged to disguise from ourselves, under a more plausible form of words, the resource to which we are driven

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 377.

against the Cardinal, that, in case the lords and gentlemen which he named shall enterprise the same earnestly, and do the best they can, to the uttermost of their power, to bring the same to pass indeed, and thereupon not being able to continue longer in Scotland, shall be enforced to fly unto this realm for refuge, his Highness will be contented to accept them and relieve them as shall appertain. For their desire to have the entertainment of a certain number of men at his Highness's charges, promising thereupon to covenant with his Majesty in writing, under their seals, to burn and destroy the abbots', bishops', and other kirkmen's lands, his Majesty hath answered that, forasmuch as his Highness's army shall be, by the grace of God, entered into Scotland, and ready to return again before his Highness can send down to them and they send again, and have answer for a conclusion in this matter, his Highness thinks the time too short to commune any further in it after this sort. But if they mind effectually to burn and destroy as they have offered, at his Majesty's army being in Scotland, and for their true and upright dealings with his Majesty therein will lay in hostages, his Highness will take order that you shall deliver unto them one thousand pounds sterling, for their furniture in that behalf.'[1]

May. The answer arrived too late to be of use. The conspirators, unwilling to move without security, remained passive, and the enterprise for the

[1] Privy Council to the Earl of Hertford: HAINES' *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 22.

moment fell through. But plots against the lives of obnoxious persons ever throve in the soil of the Scottish nature. The seed grew on in concealment; the fruit of it ripened in its time.[1]

Looking now through the eyes of Knox, let us imagine ourselves at Edinburgh on the morning of Saturday the 3rd of May, 1544. The Regent and Beton were at Holyrood, in enjoyment of the confidence of the townspeople, and the heroes of Scottish independence. In spite of rumour and expectation, they were incredulous of danger. The preparations of the English might have been known, but they were supposed to be intended for France. The strength of their enemies on the sea was a new phenomenon of which they had no experience, and, without experience, could have no belief. The Channel had been free to

May 3.

[1] I may mention in this place that in the year following the proposal to make away with Beton was renewed in a direct form by the Earl of Cassilis, undisguised by the alternative of apprehending him. On that occasion the King replied that it was not a matter in which he could move openly, but he desired Sir Ralph Sadler to tell the Earl that, if he were in his place, he would surely do what he could in the execution of such a project, 'believing verily to do thereby not only acceptable service to the King's Majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland.' Sadler, on his part, discharged his commission with the most undoubting readiness. He wrote to Cassilis. 'The Cardinal,' he said, 'is so much blinded with his affection to France, that, to please the same, he seeth not, but utterly contemneth, all things tending to the weal and benefit of his own country. He hath been the only cause and worker of all your mischief, and will, if he continue, be undoubtedly the ruin and confusion of the same. Wherefore I am of your opinion, and think it to be acceptable service to God to take him out of the way, which in such sort doth not only as much as in him is to obscure the glory of God, but also to confound the common weal of his own country.'—*State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 449, 450, 471.

their cruisers: they had ravaged the English coasts, and robbed English traders, from Berwick to the Land's End. An invasion in their own waters was the last peril which seemed to have been anticipated. Soon after daybreak strange ships were reported inside the Bass Rock. As the sun rose the numbers appeared more considerable, the white sails passing in from seaward and coming up the Forth in a stream, of which the end was still invisible. The good citizens went out upon the Castle Hill and Arthur's Seat, and 'to crags and places eminent,' to gaze on the unintelligible spectacle—the silent vessels, countless as a flight of seabirds, appearing from behind the horizon, and covering the blue level of the water. What were they? What did they mean? Midday came; they drew nearer in the light air; and keen eyes saw on the leading ships the flutter of St George's Cross. But 'still sat the Cardinal at his dinner, showing as though there had been no danger appearing.' The English were come, was the cry. The English were come to destroy them. 'The Cardinal skrippit and said, it is but the Iceland fleet; they are come to make us a show and to put us in fears.' It would soon be known what they were. The first line as they came off Leith rounded up into the wind, dropped their anchors, and lay motionless. One by one, as the rest followed in, they took their places in the floating forest. While the sun was still in the sky the anxious watchers counted two hundred sail.

No message came on shore. There was neither

signal nor offer to communicate; only in the twilight boats were seen stealing out from under the shadow of the hulls, taking soundings, as it seemed, under Grantoun Crags, and round the eastern edges of the harbour.

The brief May night closed in. By the dawning of Sunday the whole sea was alive. May 4. The galleys and lighter transports were moving in towards the land. Soldiers were swarming on the decks of the ships or passing down over the sides into the barges. It was the English army come indeed in its might and terror. The port was open, and the undefended town could attempt no resistance. The inhabitants fled up into Edinburgh, entering at one gate as, at another, Arran and the Cardinal were dashing out at the best speed of their swiftest horses. Before noon ten thousand men had disembarked in the leisure of overwhelming strength. The owners of the desolate houses had saved nothing. The merchants' stock was in their warehouses, and everything which was found was tranquilly appropriated. The joints of meat which had been provided for the Sunday dinners were cooked and consumed by the English men-at-arms. In the afternoon Blackness Castle was broken open, and the State prisoners, Sir George Douglas and Lord Angus among them, were dismissed to liberty.

Edinburgh, deserted by the Court and thronged with fugitives, was filled with confusion. The Provost rallied the city guard, and called on the citizens to arm. There was no lack of courage. Six thousand men came forward as volunteers, and even marched out towards Leith

to attack the enemy; but they had no competent leaders; for unorganized citizens to seek an army twice their strength was madness; their only hope was to make a tolerable defence and secure terms for their property. The English were quiet till the following morning. On Monday the 5th they came up from the sea in three divisions. The provost and the corporation met them with a flag of truce, and offered to deliver the keys to Lord Hertford, on condition that all persons who desired might depart with their effects, and that he would engage for the safety of the town. 'The Scots,' Hertford said, briefly, 'had broken their promises, confirmed by oath and seal, and certified by their Parliament,' and he was sent thither by the King's Highness 'to take vengeance of their detestable falsehood, to declare and show the force of his Highness's sword to all such as would resist him.' They must yield at discretion, and he would promise them their lives. If they refused, the consequences would be on their own heads. He gave them a day to consider their answer; and in the afternoon, to assist their decision, ominous clouds of smoke were seen darkening the sky towards Haddington and Lammermuir. Lord Evers, with his four thousand horse, came in from Berwick, having marked his advance by a broad track of desolation, where abbey and grange, castle and hamlet, were buried in a common ruin.

May 5.

The odds were now terrible; but the Scots were not to be frightened in cold blood while there was a hope of resistance. They shut their gates, and told Hertford

he might do his worst. Unfortunately for their courage, it had little opportunity to show itself. A heavy train of artillery had been landed from the fleet, to which there was no gun in Edinburgh better than Mons Meg to make an effective reply. The gates were blown in; the people who attempted to defend the streets were mown down by the fire; and the English troops followed the cannon, setting the houses in a blaze as they advanced. The intention of leaving garrisons had been for the present relinquished. Lord Hertford's orders were merely to teach a lesson of English power in the language which would be most easily understood. The miserable citizens broke, scattered, and fled into the open country, and for two days the metropolis of Scotland was sacked and wasted without resistance, while Evers and his northern troopers burnt the farms and villages for seven miles round. Holyrood was pillaged; Craigmillar and Seaton were destroyed, and every castle or fortified house in the neighbourhood except Dalkeith, which was spared, as belonging to the Douglases, and the Castle at Edinburgh, which could not be taken without loss and delay. There was no injury to life except where there was armed opposition; but the havoc of property was as complete as the skill and hate of the rough riders of the Border could make it; and the invaders, as it appeared to Knox, were thus 'executing the judgments of God' on breach of treaty and broken promises.[1]

[1] Knox's *History of the Reformation*. So, too, Calderwood says, 'This was part of the punishment which God had executed upon the

By the end of the week they had done their work in Edinburgh, and returned upon Leith. Here the wooden pier was torn up, and the timber was made use of as fuel to assist the destruction of the houses. The ships which were found in the harbour were seized and freighted with the spoil;[1] and the army then dividing, part re-embarked in the transports, and returned to Newcastle; part accompanied the cavalry to Berwick, destroying as they went. The retreat, like the advance, was unopposed; and by the fifteenth of the month the invaders were again collected in England, the insignificant number of forty persons being the entire loss which they had sustained.

The necessity must be regretted which compelled measures of so extreme severity. Those who condemn the severity itself must remember that it followed only after all other means had been tried in vain to bring the Scots to reasonable terms. They would keep no peace, and no treaties could bind them, while it was as impossible to leave them to themselves, to become the willing instruments of designs upon England, in the hands of the Pope or the King of France.

May 15. The main army was transported from Newcastle to Calais; a division remained on the Border, under the command of Evers and Lord Wharton, and through the summer and autumn performed a

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realm for the infidelity of the governour and violation of his solemn oath.'

[1] Holinshed says, eighty thousand cannon balls were found there among other things.—Vol. iii. p. 837.

series of 'exploits,' resembling on a scarcely reduced scale the proceedings at Edinburgh. The returns of the Wardens of the Marches for the months intervening between July and November, 1544, report, of 'towns, towers, homesteads, barnekyns, parish-churches, fortified houses, burnt and destroyed, a hundred and ninety-two; of Scots slain, four hundred and three; of prisoners taken, eight hundred and sixteen.' The spoil amounted to something over ten thousand horned cattle, twelve thousand sheep, thirteen hundred horses, and eight hundred and fifty bolls of corn.[1] In an age in which military service has become a separate profession, we endeavour, as far as possible, to confine the sufferings of war to those who have made war their occupation: on the Scotch Borders, in the sixteenth century, the distinction had no existence. Every male subject was a soldier, and his farm-stock was the commissariat which maintained him in a position to be dangerous.

But the invasion of Scotland was subsidiary to the larger movements which were in preparation on the Continent. If the marriage was to be completed at last between Prince Edward and Mary Stuart, the consent of the French King had first to be extorted on the soil of France.

The alliance with the Emperor seemed every day to grow closer; each despatch which was exchanged between London and Brussels was in terms of increased cordiality. Francis had continued indefatigably his

[1] HAINES' *State Papers*, vol. i.

endeavours to effect a separation. Through prisoners taken in the late campaign, through diplomatists connected with England or the Empire, he offered terms severally to the two powers. To Henry he wrote with his own hand, as to an old and dear friend, from whom he could not endure to be divided; while to the Pope he was believed at least to have petitioned for absolution for his offences, in having sustained so long an intercourse with an excommunicated heretic;[1] he entreated him certainly to intercede with the Emperor, empowering Cardinal Farnese to admit on his behalf that the fault of the war had rested with himself, and declaring that, if Charles would make a separate peace, he might name his own conditions.

Farnese eagerly undertook the commission. He had an interview first with the Queen Regent at Brussels; and afterwards, accompanied with the Duke of Guise, he had an audience with the Emperor. He delivered his message, speaking both in the name of Francis and of the Supreme Pontiff. But Charles, if he was sincere in his account of his own language, replied peremptorily that he would make no peace except in the spirit of the treaty which he was sworn to observe. As to the Pope, he could not sufficiently marvel at him. It was no part of his duty to intercede for one who had brought

[1] 'The French King, as I understand, hath demanded the Bishop to be absolved of his trespass committed in joining leagues and practices with your Majesty in times past against the rites and laws of the Roman Church, which all men note to be of ridiculous lightness and impudency, considering him to be an open Turk with his adherents.' — Harvel to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol ix. p. 582.

the Turks into the midst of Christendom, and there kept them to the undoing of Christian princes.[1]

The attack on the Emperor being a failure, M. de Biez, the governor of Mottreul, was instructed again to offer to the English Government a full and free concession, and to beg, on his master's behalf, that an ambassador might be received in London who would bring plenary powers with him. The Emperor had listened in private to the proposals of Farnese, and had replied in private, if he replied satisfactorily. Henry, on the first hint of the message, sent for the Spanish minister to hear his refusal; and hinting slightly that he had set an example of openness which ought to be followed, he 'desired the Emperor to perceive how his Majesty made the Emperor's case and his own all one, and refused any offer that could be made to himself, unless the Emperor's cause were joined with the same.'[2] The confid-

[1] This at least was the reply which he professed beforehand that he intended to make.—*State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 547. I do not discover the terms which he actually used, but Granvelle told Dr Wotton that 'when the Cardinal Farnese returned to Rome, the Bishop of Rome would not cause the answer delivered unto the said Cardinal to be read in the consistory, but only showed them that the Emperor had shut the gates of peace. But the Emperor's ambassador, having also received the said answer, delivered so many copies of it abroad, and also spake so much of it to the Bishop of Rome, that at last for shame he caused it to be read.'—Wotton to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 638, &c.

[2] 'Albeit his Majesty doubted not but that as the Emperor giving ear to such offers as the Duke of Lorraine being sent by an indirect mean from the French King, and likewise to such other overtures as Cardinal Farnese made to him on the French King's behalf by another indirect mean, did first hear what the offers were, and afterwards advertised his Majesty of his proceedings in the same, so the Emperor would be contented if his Majesty did the semblable; yet his Majesty,

ence must have been insecurely rooted which required so many mutual protests; and if a passing cloud of uneasiness seems to have rested for a moment on Henry's mind, we may find cause to think hereafter that his suspicions were not without foundation. On the surface, nevertheless, there was only cordiality; and the preparations for the double campaign were hastened forward. The King was to cross the Channel at midsummer with from forty to fifty thousand English troops. In addition he proposed to raise a few thousand German mercenaries, under the command of a soldier of fortune, the famous or infamous Baron von Landenberg:[1] while Francis, though he attempted to face out his position boldly, yet, as the time of danger drew near, was reported to be in the greatest anxiety; Chancellor Granvelle learnt that when alone he walked uneasily about his room, talking to himself, anticipating a second Pavia, or dethronement, or death.[2]

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minding to avoid all occasion of suspicion, as soon as he had heard of the said overtures, sent straight for his ambassador here, and before he had or will give ear to any offers, communicated unto him the very first entry of the matter.'—Privy Council to Wotton: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 655.

[1] There was a fear lest the French should avail themselves of the same source to recruit their forces; the Spanish garrisons on the frontiers were directed to prevent the Germans from passing. It seems that they did their work effectively. 'M. de Granvelle saith,' wrote Wotton, 'that the soldiers which the Emperor hath laid upon the borders betwixt these parts of Germany and France, play even the very butchers; for as many as they meet that are going towards France they hew them straight in pieces.'—Wotton to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 638, &c.

[2] 'Saying often times "Foy de gentilhomme seray je prins prisonnier encore une fois! Perderay je mon Royaulme? Seray je tué? Moureray je?" with other like words as a man vehemently troubled

Charles, on his side, so far as the world could see, was giving the clearest proofs of his determination. To carry on the war effectually he must secure the support of the Diet and the Protestant princes, who were not without secret leanings towards France, and being agitated by the presence of the Spaniards, had resolved to make use of his necessities, and to bind him down under severe conditions. The year opened ominously with an eclipse of the sun.[2] The Diet met at Speyer at the end of January; the attendance was dense; the Elector and the Landgrave, uneasy at the treatment of Gueldres, and expecting treachery, rode into the town at the head of two hundred troopers armed to the teeth; and the session being opened as usual, with the mass of the Holy Ghost in the cathedral,[3] the Protestant leaders significantly absented themselves, taking their places only when the religious services were completed. But Charles did not notice their attitude; he received them with outward cordiality; and, in declaring the business for which they were convoked, he observed the same cautious moderation. He complained of nothing. He accused no one. The peace of Europe and the Mahometan invasion made the substance of his address; but the Lutheran princes heard also that they were really to be allowed to discuss the vexed question of religion, and the reform of the Chamber of the Empire. The right

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in his mind.'—Ibid.

[1] SLEIDAN. The eclipse was on the 24th of January, and Sleidan notices gravely that in the same year the moon also was three times eclipsed.

[2] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 603.

of the Diet to meddle with religion had been as earnestly claimed by them as it had been passionately denied by the Pope. The Imperial Chamber, as the supreme court of appeal, and as governed by the traditional laws inherited from the period of an undisputed Roman supremacy, had been the chief instrument of persecution in the hands of the Catholic clergy, and the chief difficulty in the legal establishment of the Reformation.

But smooth language from the Emperor and appearances of concession were no sufficient guarantee of his intentions. He possessed in perfection the statesman's accomplishment of moving in one direction while looking in the other, and it was necessary to test his sincerity. The Duke of Brunswick had appeared in his train, and had taken his seat in the Diet. The Landgrave rose, and in his own name and the Elector's protested that Henry of Brunswick, having broken the laws of the Empire, had been deposed from his principality, and had therefore neither right nor place there. The Duke retorted; the Landgrave replied more resolutely, and, inasmuch as the Emperor in the preceding autumn had commanded the Duke's restoration, to forsake him now would be equivalent to a declared apostasy. The representatives of the Catholic States heard with dismay that their champion and martyr would not be defended. The difficulty was waived. The Emperor declared that the cause was too complicated to admit of settlement in the pressure of more urgent interests. He begged that it might be indefinitely postponed; and, to turn the current and conciliate the anti-Papal party still further, he

suggested that, as a first step towards the settlement of Europe, a letter should be addressed to the Pope, by the Catholic States, requiring him to state openly the part which he intended to take in the war with France.[1] To invite any such step was to invite them to a rupture with Rome, or so at least they understood it. Exasperated at the double blow, the Catholics replied with a direct refusal. They would do nothing, they would consent to nothing, till the rights of the Church were recognized in their integrity; till the dissolved monasteries were restored; till the Augsburg Confession ceased to be tolerated; till the ordinances of Ratisbon were repealed, and the ancient liberty of persecution re-established.

Fury begat fury. The Protestants could rave as well as they. The Catholics would not stir for the Emperor unless they had their own way. The Protestants declared as loudly that they would vote neither men nor money for the war till the Reform of the Church had been disposed of, till they had received a definite promise for ever of religious liberty. It was a very pretty quarrel.

The combatants being once engaged, would be separated only by mutual exhaustion. The Emperor allowed the discussion to rage on far into the spring; when the exhausted tongues sank into languor, in an interval of

[1] 'Imperator apud eos Principes et Status qui Catholici nominantur hic institit ut ad episcopum Romanum scribere velint, rogantes quid in hoc bello inter Cæsarem et Gallum facere velit; quod Status facere recusârunt.'—Mont to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 61°; and see SLEIDAN.

silence he brought forward his own resolutions. It was essential for him to secure a majority in the Diet, and he was prepared to pay for it in promissory notes which might or might not be honoured at his future convenience. He decided that, until the next meeting of the Diet and the final settlement of religion,[1] the Catholics should not be allowed either to persecute or make proselytes among the Protestants, nor the Protestants among the Catholics. The religious houses suppressed already should remain suppressed; those which were standing should remain standing. The clergy of neither profession should be molested in person or property.

June 10.

The Confession of Augsburg should remain a permitted declaration of faith. The laws of the Empire, when conflicting with it, should be placed in abeyance; and all decrees affecting property, hitherto given in the Chamber against the acts of the Protestant princes, should be declared null and void.[2] The Duke of Brunswick and the Catholic princes and prelates entered their protest against a judgment which appeared to them so monstrous; but their remonstrance was not accepted: they withdrew in real or pretended indignation, and the Diet, freed from its disturbing element, was now compliant. A letter was

[1] 'Ad futura usque comitia et ad plenariam controversiarum religionis determinationem.' The words are cautious; but might be readily construed into a promise that 'the plenary determination' should be effected by the Diet itself.

[2] 'Jura communia scripta, quatenus Augustanam confessionem oppugnant suspensa esse decernimus. Eas quoque causas, quæ in profanis negotiis contra Augustanæ confessionis status apud Cameram post recusationem interpositam decisæ sunt revocamus.'—Edicts of the Diet of Spires: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 704, &c.

written to the Pope. The French King was declared the enemy of the Empire, as the most ill-starred, the most wicked, dishonourable, and execrable prince who had ever reigned in Christendom.[1] A force of eight-and-twenty thousand men was voted for a six-months' campaign, to compel him to relinquish his impious confederacy, and all German subjects were forbidden to take service in his army under pain of death.[2]

So closed this remarkable session. The Catholics had found themselves slighted and set aside. The heretics, whom they and the Pope would have sent to the stake, were in cordial co-operation with the Emperor for the defence of Christendom and the punishment of a Catholic sovereign; and Granvelle appeared so happy in the strange result, that Dr Wotton expected that he would have embraced him in his arms.[3]

The time was now approaching which had been agreed upon for the opening of the French campaign. The inroad into Scotland had been completed, and Sir William Paget went over to make final arrangements for the movements of the two armies. On his way to Spain he passed through Brussels, where the Regent expressed her eager goodwill towards the King of Eng-

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[1] 'Le plus mal heureux, le plus meschant, le plus deshonoré, le plus detestable prince qui jamais fust en la Chrestiente.'

[2] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 705.

[3] 'I found M. de Granvelle marvellous jocund and pleasantly disposed. His face, his countenance, his gesture, the laying his hand now and then upon my hand, the sudden casting out of his arms towards me, so as I thought twice or thrice he would have embraced me, did evidently testify no small inward gladness of heart.' — Wotton to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 625.

land.[1] His commission was to suggest an alteration in the original scheme of the campaign. Both Charles and Henry had been unwell in the spring; the gout had hung about the Emperor, and had made fatigue dangerous to him; while he had been himself so anxious for the health of his 'good brother,' that he had sent a special messenger to urge the importance of his life to Europe, and to warn him against exposing himself to the hardships which would be inevitable if he took the field with his army.

On considering the circumstances, Henry had concluded that the plan of the two armies marching separately on Paris had been ill-considered. The advance of a large force through an enemy's country was always a critical operation. The Emperor had already experienced the difficulty alone; and, in a combined movement, if either army was checked or delayed, the other would be in serious danger. Supposing both invasions to be successful, they might sack Paris, indeed, or hold it to ransom, but to occupy it would be impossible; and a mere act of violent destruction, followed by a retreat, would be at once useless and dishonourable.[2] He thought

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[1] 'She said she could wish no longer to live than she had good will to do whatever should lie in her power for the continuation and increase of the amity between your Majesty and the Emperor.'—Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 680. At Brussels, Paget found Richard Layton, the well-known visitor of the monasteries. He had been rewarded for his services by a diplomatic appointment. He was now dying. The last moments of all noticeable men are curious. 'He hath a great heart to serve you,' Paget wrote to the King, 'and is wonderful loath to die.'

[2] Yet he had not thought the destruction at Edinburgh dishonourable.

it would be more rational, more prudent, and more efficacious if he himself were to remain at Calais while the Emperor moved down to some town upon his frontiers. Thirty thousand men might advance on each side under other commanders as far as safety allowed; and if Francis was to be brought to concessions by the waste of his provinces, the occupation 'was more convenable a great deal for a lieutenant than for an emperor or a king.' They themselves, meanwhile, could make the ground good, securing the strong positions as they were successively taken, and keeping their communications open with the force in advance.

The proposal was 'wisely conceived,' as the Emperor, when it was submitted to him, allowed. He could not acquiesce, however, in the belief that by going to Paris they could gain nothing except pillage or a ransom. He expected to draw the people from obedience to the King, to prevent him from raising his revenue, and, by carrying on the war in the heart of France, to make the invasion defray its own expenses. He thought it would be dangerous to divide the armies. Each power ought to advance in its full strength; and, in fact, he was pledged to the States of the Empire. They had granted money on the understanding that he would invade France in person. 'The King my brother's army,' he added, with a compliment to his ally, 'be the greatest part all of one nation, people of such obedience as will be ruled by the meanest man of his realm if he will make him his lieutenant; nothing short of his own presence could hold together the gathering of Spaniards,

Italians, Walloons, Hollanders, and Lanzknechts, who would be ranged under the Imperial banners.[1]

The Emperor's arguments might be good; but they did not prove his conclusions. It might be necessary for him to retain his army under his own control, yet he need not carry it with him to Paris. Charles, however, from some cause, was unwilling to listen. Wisely or unwisely, he was bent on the original design; and, unable to convince Paget, he sent back with him a confidential minister, M. de Courières, to England, if possible to satisfy the King.

Henry was bound by his engagement, and if the Emperor insisted on the observance of it, he must waive his own suggestions, as far as he could safely do so. It was more than ever obvious to him, however, that to march precipitately upon the French capital, leaving fortified towns in his rear to intercept his supplies, was a step which military prudence forbade. A large garrison had been thrown into Boulogne during the winter; an intrenched camp had been formed at Mottreul; and similar precautions had been taken along the frontiers of Burgundy. De Courières could not persuade him of the desirableness of leaving bodies of the enemy to close the communications in the rear of the armies. He would rather entreat the Emperor (and this was his last message) 'to weigh deeply his going to Paris, and to foresee what a great dishonour it should be for him to pass thither, and, constrained either by the power of

[1] Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 682, &c.

the enemy or want of victual, to return without achieving his enterprise, considering what a great uncertainty it should be to trust upon victuals to be brought in by the subjects of the enemy, like as himself proved on his journey into Provence.' His Majesty's advice, therefore, was 'that his brother should follow his said journey as the *raison de la guerre*[1]—the respect of victual and other considerations might stand together, like as his Majesty for his part was minded to do the semblable; for otherwise, conceiving to enterprise a feat, and then finding sudden empeachments by the way, there might ensue such an inconvenience as might not be easily afterwards redubbed.'[2]

'His Majesty was minded to do the semblable.' He gave the Emperor fair warning. The *raison de la guerre* required the reduction of Boulogne and Mottreul before the main army could safely ascend the Somme; and as the principal part of the English troops were by this time collected at Calais, the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Russell went over at once to commence operations. The Count de Buren came in with a Flemish contingent, and being accompanied by De Rieulx, a council of war was held, to obtain the acquiescence of the Imperial general. The French force at both places was so large, that the sieges might be tedious, and might delay the advance; but the difficulty was itself a reason why the attempt must be made. De Rieulx could not deny,

[1] 'Selon la raison de guerre,' was the condition of the agreement. *Vide supra.*

[2] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 711.

while he would not confess, the necessity. He raised objections to the waste of time, but he suggested no feasible alternative; the Duke of Norfolk said at last, that he 'seemed more desirous that the King should spend his money in defence of the Emperor than for his own benefit.' The King considered that this was probably the truth, and cut short the discussion by sending orders that the two towns should be attacked without delay.[1]

If an uncertainty had remained whether in this resolution the English were infringing the agreement, it was terminated by Charles himself, who, on the return of De Courières with the King's message, told Dr Wotton that 'he was satisfied his good brother would employ his army as should be most expedient for their common interests, and most to the annoyance of the enemy.' He was himself, indeed, following Henry's example. A division of his troops was already besieging Ligny: and afterwards, he said, he should take St Dizier, and probably Vitry, before advancing, 'to the intent that his victuals might the more surely follow him.'[2] The friendly disagreement thus seemed to have passed away, and events were again in good train. Another difficulty arose next from the conduct of Von Landenberg. The Emperor, as well as the Landgrave, had recommended him to Henry; and he had promised to join the camp at Calais with his Lanzknechts. The terms had been agreed upon, and half the promised

[1] *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 725, &c.

[2] Ibid. p. 724.

wages had been paid in advance. Landenberg, having no interest in the war beyond pay or spoil, and having the advantage of partial possession, thought then that he might improve his position. When required to move, he replied quietly that he must have better conditions, or he would carry his men into France. Dr Wotton, through whom the audacious message was sent, referred it to Granvelle. The minister professed himself extremely sorry: Landenberg, however, he thought, was a desperate man, entirely likely to do what he threatened to do. The readiest plan would be to promise what he desired, and at the end of the campaign he might be hanged. This, he said, was the Emperor's method of dealing with such men. He had tried it repeatedly with excellent success.

The remedy was as little to Wotton's taste as the disease. The King, he thought, 'would be loath to entertain a man with fair words' whom he intended for the gallows. He applied to the Emperor in person.

Charles's opinion coincided with the chancellor's. The English scruples, he thought, were needlessly unreasonable. Landenberg, at all hazards, must be prevented from joining the enemy; and, considering the terms on which they stood with one another, he trusted 'his good brother would not stick at a small thing with him.' If Henry was dainty in such matters, he would himself undertake the retribution. He had old provocations of his own besides the present, which could be settled simultaneously.[1] Wotton could but repeat his

[1] Wotton to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. ix. pp. 720, 721.

conviction that the King would never consent. It was rather for the Emperor, he thought, to use present compulsion, than for the English Government to stoop to treachery. And he had rightly anticipated Henry's feeling. Landenberg was left to enjoy the profit of his villany. The loss of money was submitted to; and it would have been well if no other consequences had followed. But the free lances, though they did not desert to France, established themselves at Liège, professing to be in the English service; and by living at free quarters at the expense of the inhabitants, created an angry difference between the Courts of London and Brussels.[1]

Minor disputes, however, were now absorbed in the larger interests of the war. By the end of June the English army had formed the siege of Boulogne. On the 14th of July Henry crossed the Channel and took the command in person,[2] while the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Russell passed forward and sat down before Mottreul. Ligny, on the other side, surrendered to the Emperor on the 29th of June. On the 3rd of the month following he approached St Dizier, on the Marne. St Dizier, though unimportant as a town, was strong as a military position; the fortifications had been recently increased, and the defence was entrusted to the able La Lande, who had baffled the allies in the preceding autumn at Landrecy. The invading army could not advance till it was taken: the French

July 14.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. iii.

[2] Diary of the Expedition to Boulogne: RYMER, vol. vi. part 3.

had neglected no precautions which would make the siege protracted. The summer was wet. Incessant rains softened the roads and filled the rivers. In spite of his preparations, the Emperor's transport service was ill-provided, and he was delayed a week under the walls before his batteries were in a condition to open fire. The bombardment commenced at last on the 12th of July. It was continued incessantly for three days; and on the morning of the 15th the attacking columns of Spaniards and Germans advanced to the attack. The former swarmed up the breach with desperate courage; but they were ill-supported: the Germans flinched and fled; the Prince of Orange was killed; the assault failed, and, after having lost six hundred of his best troops, Charles relinquished the hope of taking St Dizier by storm.[1] Although, in a campaign which must end with the summer, time was of so much importance, he was forced to turn the siege into a blockade; and the allies being similarly detained, were each equally unable to complain of the other's delay.

Weeks passed on. August came; and Boulogne and St Dizier were still untaken. August. Meantime the French Government had not been idle. Separate agents hung about the two camps. The Bailiff of Dijon came down to St Dizier with an offer to accept Charles's terms for the settlement of Milan, with assurances that the King of England was seeking his own interests at Boulogne, and that the Emperor

[1] Wotton to Henry VIII. from the Camp · *State Papers*, vol. ix. p. 733.

was free to act for himself. M. de Framozelles (he must have been despatched from Paris within a day or two of the other) carried a second autograph letter from Francis to Henry, entreating him to intercede with his ally, to whom he said he would rather die than make advances, except through his good friend and brother. If an entire pacification was possible, he would make concessions on both sides; but he indicated not obscurely that England might make its own advantages at the expense of Charles. How Charles received the message to himself will be presently seen. Henry replied that the suggestion of treachery was a reproach to his honour.[1] He promised to use his endeavours to bring the Emperor to reasonable terms; but the condition of his interference must be plain and frank dealing. Independent proposals to himself would not, and could not, be listened to. 'Through the fault of yourself or of your ministers,' he said, 'we have been constrained to take arms against you; nor can we with any honour renew our friendship with you, unless our good brother the Emperor be first advertised thereof, and such provision as appertaineth be made likewise for him. At your request, we shall learn with diligence how he shall be disposed, and within fifteen or twenty days we trust to receive his answer; at which time, if you will send again to us, we shall reply more at large, trusting

[1] 'En quoy vous touchez notre honneur grandement, le quel ayant comme cognoisses tous jours jusque à présent garde inviolablement, ne consentiray jamais que en ma vieillesse il soit aucunement tache.'—Henry VIII. to Francis I.: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 19.

that if you be so well disposed to the weal of Christendom as you profess yourself, our endeavours shall take effect to some good purpose.'

The proposals brought by De Framozelles were immediately forwarded to the Imperial camp, with a copy of the letter of Francis, and of the King's answer. The courier reached St Dizier the third week in August. The Emperor opened the packet in Dr Wotton's presence. After reading the French King's private overtures he complained bitterly of his treachery, and, turning to the words in which they had been answered, he exclaimed, 'This is another master's doing, and written as a noble and wise prince should write. I thank my good brother that he hath such respect unto me as the amity between us doth require. I shall not fail to use myself accordingly again.' Wotton reiterated the assurance that Henry would do nothing without his consent. 'He knew it,' Charles said; he had perfect confidence that his brother would be guided in all his actions by good faith and integrity.[1]

The French offers were then referred to Granvelle. Although more favourable to the Empire than to England—so favourable, indeed, that, if fulfilled faithfully, the minister admitted that they would be satisfactory,[2] Henry was ready to waive his more particular expectations, and desired that they should be accepted. Granvelle, however, more zealous for England than England itself, raised difficulties in England's behalf. Francis

[1] Wotton to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 34.
[2] Ibid.

had said he would give security for the payment of his debts; but every one knew the value of French securities. He had undertaken that the Scots should be in as much amity with England as himself. This merely implied that, as long as the French King should think it profitable to name the King's Majesty his friend, so long 'would the Scots sit still.' Experience of the French King's duplicity made confidence in his word impossible; 'the only remedy whereof was that, if agreement were made with him, the amity, nevertheless, and league between his Highness and the Emperor, should remain still so in virtue and strength, that in case the French King went about to break any part of his promise, they might be both ready to renew the war against him.'[1]

The desirableness of such 'a remedy' as this had not been doubted. The assurance of the continuance of the feeling was, perhaps, satisfactory. A formal reply to the offers was meanwhile drawn with necessary speed, and forwarded to Boulogne by the hands of De Courières. Granvelle had dwelt to Wotton chiefly on the inadequacy of the terms granted to Henry. The King discovered with surprise and some disappointment, that the Emperor's own demands were so exorbitant as to make peace impossible. The answer 'was couched in such extremities, and so far out of the limits of the treaty,' 'that he found occasion to think that either the Emperor minded in no

August 18.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 34.

wise to fall to any reasonable composition, or, at the least, that if any were made,' he was not himself 'to have the handling of the same.'[1] 'The treaty,' he rejoined, in evident perplexity, 'bindeth us at the most no further than that the Emperor may have the Duchy of Burgundy, and certain towns here in Picardy; and the articles which the ambassadors have delivered to us, as those whereupon the Emperor will rest, contain demands that himself, the Empire, the King of the Romans, the States of Italy, the commonalty of Senes, may have restitution of their damages by reason of this last war; that restitution be made unto him of the Duchy of Burgundy and the Visconty of Aussone, with all the mean profits perceived by the French King since his first possession of them; and that all other places which the French King has taken since the beginning of the war be restored, with the interests.' The Emperor he could hardly believe was serious in urging demands so preposterous. If England was expected to stipulate on behalf of its ally for conditions so far beyond the treaty, he could only reply himself by the letter of the treaty, and require on his part the payment of his debts, the expenses of the war, and the restoration of the ancient possessions of the English Crown.[2]

With evidence before him of ambiguous dealing on the part of his confederate, he might have been pardoned, if he had at last considered his own interests. Cardinal du Bellay had come down to Hardelot Castle

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 50, &c. [2] Ibid.

to receive the answer promised through De Framozelles, and had again brought powers to arrange a separate peace with England, if Henry would consent. But, though unable to comprehend the Emperor's answer, this method of escaping from his uncertainty did not occur to him.

Meantime St Dizier, after having detained Charles seven precious weeks, at last capitulated. Half the time which had been calculated for the march on Paris had been lost before a single town; and if the original intention held, not a moment could be spared. The Emperor nevertheless showed no signs of haste. He remained stationary for another ten days, while his light columns were reducing other unimportant places in the neighbourhood, and the Duke of Lorraine was passing mysteriously to and fro between the camp and Paris.

August 25. On the 25th of August he advanced leisurely to Vitry, which had been taken by surprise, while the Dauphin was manœuvring in his front with a force which was every day increasing, without risking a battle. At Vitry, M. d'Annebault, who had succeeded De Bryon as high admiral, and was notorious as a partisan of the Empire, presented himself with a safe-conduct, and was admitted to an interview. When private communications were made to Henry, he invited, as we have seen, the presence of the Emperor's ambassador. Of the conferences of Charles and Granvelle with the Duke of Lorraine, the Bailiff of Dijon, or the admiral, so much only was known to Dr Wotton as the Emperor and his ministers were pleased from time to time to re-

veal. But their language, on their own representations, was tolerably satisfactory. D'Annebault had openly recommended an act of treachery. The French King, he had said, was ready to relinquish the Turks, and to make war upon them if the Emperor desired. In all points on which Charles was interested he would meet his wishes freely. 'For the King of England, let them first agree among themselves, and then they could do well enough with him if he would be reasonable. If he would not, he could be left out.' Granvelle protested that they had refused to listen. The admiral had tried to persuade them that Henry was caring only for himself, and that they were not bound to consider him; but the interview had closed without result.[1]

Chalons now lay in the path of the army. The Dauphin's force was partly in the town, partly a few miles from it. By attacking Chalons, Charles would probably be able to force the French to accept a battle. With his army in its present condition the result could have been scarcely uncertain, and a decided victory would have cleared the road to Paris. That so late in the season he should have passed by, leaving the Dauphin unattacked, Chalons untaken, his communications broken, and his supplies cut off, was an extent of rashness which even the Provence misfortunes led no one to expect. To the surprise of every one who was not admitted to secrets of State, the Emperor immediately on D'Annebault's departure announced that this was his

[1] Wotton to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 45, &c.

intention. The military insanity of the movement was evident even to the eyes of a civilian. Wotton's mind misgave him, and, although Granvelle assured him still that all was well, his uneasiness was visible in his report to the King.

A letter announcing[1] the advance was written on the 31st of August. On the 6th of September Chalons was thirty miles in Charles's rear. The Dauphin's army had closed up behind. The convoys which had followed him were interrupted; and, by an extraordinary accident, the military chest was empty. There was no pay for the soldiers, and without money the soldiers could not obtain even food. D'Annebault hung in the neighbourhood in unbroken correspondence, and 'would have offered the Emperor something reasonable,' so Wotton was next informed, but 'would not consent to satisfy the King of England.' Next came M. de Neuilly, with a proposal to pay the arrears of the English pension, 'and to show reasonable cause why it was not to be paid in time to come;'[2] and at last, when Charles had embarrassed his army so deeply that its extrication would have been difficult, if not impossible, the French overtures assumed a definite form. Separate terms were offered, which, though falling, of course, far short of those which Charles had called on Henry to demand for him, yet answered fully the original object with which he had himself engaged in the war. Ten thousand men would immediately serve against the

August 31. Sept. 6.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 47. [2] Ibid. p. 61.

Turks. 'If, for increase of amity between the Courts, the Emperor would give the Princess of Spain to the Duke of Orleans, with the Low Countries, or the second daughter of Ferdinand with the Duchy of Milan (he might choose his alternative), the French King would restore to the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy the territory and towns that he held of theirs on either side of the Alps. To England he would pay the arrears of the pensions. The Emperor should decide whether he was bound to pay anything in future.' The pressure of the double alliance, the presence of the English forces, and Henry's refusal to listen to De Framozelles and Du Bellay, had alone placed these concessions within Charles's reach. No sooner were they formally made, than he sent Granvelle's son, the Bishop of Arras, with a safe-conduct across France, to say that his army was in extreme danger, that he doubted if he could save himself, and he required either that he should be allowed to make peace on the conditions which the French Government had offered, or that the siege of Boulogne and Mottreul should be immediately raised, and the whole English strength advance towards Paris.

Seeing that he had himself waited leisurely till it suited his convenience to move, that the presence of the English had locked up a large part of the available strength of France, and had therefore prevented the Dauphin from being able to relieve St Dizier, the alternative, or at least the second portion of it, could be pressed with indifferent decency. Such as the demand

Sept. 11. was, however, it was entrusted to Arras, and by him on the 11th of September was carried to Boulogne.

On his arrival he found the siege at the point of a successful completion. The garrison had resisted with a courage which had called out Henry's admiration. 'They fought hand to hand,' the King wrote on the 8th of the same month to the Queen, 'much manfuller than either Burgundians or Flemings would have done; such as we have of these will do no good where any danger is, nor yet abide there with their will.'[1] But the parallels had been steadily advanced, the walls had been breached and mined in all directions, and the fall of the town had for some days been a mere question of time. While D'Annebault had been intriguing with Charles and Granvelle, Du Bellay had remained at Abbeville, still keeping open an opportunity for Henry as long as the first had remained unclosed. The two ministers were struggling in the direction of their sympathies—one to secure England, the other the Empire—and Francis was only anxious to divide the allies. Du Bellay's standing offers were to pay the arrears, to continue the pension, to pay the expenses of the war, to surrender Ardes, and, more important than all the rest, 'to cause the Scots to be ordered in reason, or to abandon them.'[2] Henry had replied consistently that, although by treaty he might make larger demands, 'yet he had more regard to the common weal

[1] Henry VIII. to the Queen: RYMER, vol. vi. part 3, p. 117.
[2] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 63, &c.

and quiet of Christendom than to his own benefit;' he was satisfied for himself, but the Emperor must be satisfied also; and until he had received assurance to that effect, the war must continue, and the siege be pressed.

On the day that Arras entered the camp a mine exploded under the last important outwork held by the French. They were driven back, and three days after the town surrendered. So far, the army was set free. Mottreul, however, still held out, nor was there present prospect of its capture. It was defended by an army rather than a garrison. The lines were too extensive for the Duke of Norfolk successfully to invest it. The Netherlands transport department, so far from having been adequate to supply the army on a march into France, had broken down under the easy duty of attending upon a stationary camp but a few miles from the frontier. The English had been forced to find their own supplies from the adjoining country; and the radius within which they could be obtained was continually extending. The army suffered from sickness, and unless the enemy were in a worse condition than himself, Norfolk could not promise success before the winter. To cross the Somme was therefore as impossible as ever, and Arras was instructed to tell the Emperor that, if his situation made peace necessary to him, he had Henry's consent, provided the treaty was reserved, and the conditions of it, in all parts, remained intact. The English terms were those which had been offered by Cardinal du Bellay. If it would facilitate the Emperor's arrangement, however,

Sept. 14.

he would remit the condition of the payment of expenses.[1]

Charles had foreseen with so much clearness the impossibility of the English advance, that he had not so much as waited for the King's reply. He commenced his retreat before the return of his messenger, and if Henry had gone forward he would have found himself at Paris alone. The Imperialists reached Chasteau Thierry. At that point they turned north towards Soissons. On the 11th of September, the day on which Arras reached Boulogne, a French commission formally attached itself to the army. A proclamation was issued that the soldiers should do no more injury, and peace was generally talked of. On the 14th D'Annebault came in in person. On the 17th Granvelle told Wotton that the French offered reasonable conditions; his son's delay in returning, he said, caused great embarrassment, for the army—being unpaid, and at the same time forbidden to forage — was in mutiny. Peace evidently was on the point of being concluded, with or without the English consent. On the evening of the 18th Arras returned with the news of the fall of Boulogne and the King's message. If Charles was acting in good faith, he had blundered into a situation where he could plead a seeming necessity for accepting a peace which gratified his most sanguine wishes. The Bishop of Arras, to shield still further the Imperial

Sept. 18.

[1] The terms of the answer were the subject of a long and angry correspondence, which the minutely curious will find spread over the tenth volume of the *State Papers.*

honour, and careless what the world might think of his integrity as a messenger, assured Charles that Henry was on the point of agreement with the Cardinal du Bellay, and that he left him unfettered by conditions, except with a general reservation of the treaty, to make his own terms.[1] The true message was altered slightly, but vitally. The King had specified the terms which he would accept; and it was as much Charles's duty to insist on them, as a condition of the peace now proposed to him, as Henry on his part had fulfilled his own duty of seeing to the interest of his ally. But the skilful farce was complete in all its parts. The French refused to hear of a conditional agreement; and on the following morning, September the 19th, the Peace of Crêpy, on the terms which M. de Neuilly had brought to Vitry, was concluded and signed. Sept. 19.

Dr Wotton was invited to the presence-chamber only when all was over. The Emperor informed him that he had agreed with the French, 'reserving the league and amity with his good brother;' and that the French Government had agreed to submit their differences with England to his arbitration. The room was crowded with officers and diplomatists, talking loudly and passing in and out. 'The Emperor spoke softly, and not very intelligibly;' and when the minister pressed for a more explicit explanation, he broke off the conversation, and referred him to Granvelle. The

[1] Wotton to Henry VIII.; *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 81.
[2] Ibid.

Chancellor was in the highest spirits. But a few days had passed since the treaty with England was all-important, and the English interests of so great consequence that the war must be continued only for the sake of them. Now he said merely that the English army had not advanced, and that they could not wait. The Emperor would take care of 'his Majesty;' and in fact his Majesty had told his son that he could take care of himself. Wotton cut short his excuses, and interpreted their meaning: the Emperor had gained all that he had desired, and was at peace; the King of England was left at war, and the French would at once withdraw the terms which had been offered through Cardinal du Bellay.[1]

A less skilful diplomatist than Wotton might have seen his way to so plain a conclusion. The open confirmation of his words arrived sooner than perhaps either he or Granvelle had anticipated, for the Dauphin's army was already on its way to recover Boulogne and drive the English into the sea. Although the news of the capture had been brought by Arras himself, the French commissioners pretended that their offer to submit to Charles's arbitration had been made before they were aware that the town had fallen; and Charles, in unembarrassed acquiescence, permitted them to withdraw their promise.[2]

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[1] Wotton to Henry VIII.; *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 77, &c.

[2] Charles said himself in October to Wotton that 'The French King had submitted himself to his arbitrement only in the first controversies, and not in the matter of Boulogne, which was a new controversy.'—*State Papers*, vol. x. p. 109, &c.

On the secret motives of the Emperor's conduct it is dangerous to speculate. That he had broken a treaty to which he had sworn with peculiar solemnity certainly cannot be questioned; and the English Government with full justice declined to believe that a statesman of Charles's experience could suppose himself exempted from the obligations of a formal alliance by the loose delivery of a verbal message. His march to Chasteau Thierry may have been only an act of extraordinary folly; but the folly of a military commander rarely results in an advantageous peace; and the composure with which he witnessed the embarrassment into which he precipitated his ally, throws suspicion backwards over the steps which led him up to the violation of his engagements. The excuse of the siege of Boulogne was negatived by his own delay at St Dizier; his insincerity in the message which he sent through Arras was proved by his retreat before the return of a reply. Unscrupulous as Charles repeatedly showed himself, it is hard to suspect him of conscious dishonour. The responsibility of public actions is ever rested on princes; and we accuse a sovereign of treachery, of caprice, of ambition, of cruelty, when often the truth is merely that especial circumstances have given preponderance to the councils of different ministers, that the ministers represent parties in the State which it is dangerous or impossible to resist. And therefore it is that conjectures hazarded as certainties, that rash assertions of motives, are unpermitted even to contemporaries; and historians, who can recover at best little more than the husk and shell of

events, are open to something more than censure when they give the value of ascertained realities to their own imaginations.

Yet, after observing the most severe caution, it is impossible, in the present instance, to conceive an explanation of Charles's conduct which would acquit him in the eyes of his ally. It is impossible to avoid contrasting his conduct with Henry's, when they were both exposed to the same temptations.

Martin du Bellay, the brother of the Cardinal, who was well acquainted with Court secrets, mentions—not in censure, but as a fact of which he had perfect knowledge—that the negotiations for the peace were really and truly commenced before the Emperor left St Dizier,[1] at the time when both he and Granvelle were so warm in their protestations to Wotton, and when the exaggerated answer was returned to the proposals which were sent through Henry. Although Boulogne was especially defined as among the securities which England might demand for the payment of the pension, the Emperor, Du Bellay affirms, looked with alarm on the increase of strength which the possession of it would confer upon a power with which he had so lately been on the edge of an internecine war. The occupation of Boulogne in addition to Calais would ensure the command of the narrow seas.[2] Another supposition, that

[1] 'Il commença à gouster quelques pourparlez qui avoyent este mis en avant durant le siege de St Dizier d'une paix entre le Roy et luy; chose que le dict Empereur estime pouvoir honnêtement entendre sans en communiquer au Roy d'Angleterre.'—*Mémoires*, p. 335.

[2] 'Il doutoit que par après se sentant fort deça la mer, il luy fust

Charles desired to entangle England and France in an exhausting war, that he might be at liberty to follow his own designs upon Germany, reflects scarcely less discredit upon him. At the close of the Diet of Spires he expressed himself in terms of the most confidential affection to the Landgrave; and if he was then meditating treachery, Philip II. was a bungler in deception compared with his father.

It is certainly possible that, at St Dizier, the desertion of England was deliberately contemplated, that the advance into France was the result of a secret understanding with D'Annebault, and that the object of the apparent rashness was to place the army deliberately in a position where Charles might plead necessity for the desertion of his ally. The danger of such a movement was not so great as it might seem, for the good faith of Henry might be relied upon with certainty; and as long as France was at war with England, the Emperor might calculate on separate terms whenever he pleased to accept them.

Another explanation may be suggested, however, which, if less simple, reflects upon his character with less fatal weight. Charles V. was a singular mixture of the statesman, the soldier, and the devotee. The spirits of the three professions alternately took possession of him; and his periods of superstition, as he grew older, recurred more frequently, and were more tenacious in their hold. In the letters of ambassadors from his

plus difficile quand ils auroyent à traiter ensemble.' — Du Bellay's *Memoirs*, p. 334.

Court during the last years, the Emperor was repeatedly said to be 'in retreat.' For a day or for a week he would relinquish public business, and retire into a monastery for meditation; and although as a politician he was impelled into toleration of the Protestants, and urged into alliances which the Church could neither encourage nor excuse, yet heresy, as such, was every day becoming more hateful to him; and he had flattered himself, perhaps really, that, in connecting himself with England, he might recover the King to the faith. The Diet of Spires must have taught him both the strength and the obstinacy of the Lutheran States. His experience of Henry, in the closer intimacy which had followed the treaty, could not have been more reassuring; it is easy to understand, therefore, that his position must have been more than painful; and that his inward thoughts, and the language which he was obliged to affect, may have been unavoidably at considerable variance. If this be a true account of the state of his mind, we may imagine how he was likely to have been affected by a letter which, on the 25th of August, immediately before those movements which there is so much difficulty in explaining, he received from the Pope.[1]

[1] On the 9th of August Harvel warned Henry that a great effort might be expected to separate the Emperor from him. 'Your Majesty,' he said, 'may be fully persuaded that all the Bishop's imagination is how he may finally aggrieve your Majesty, moved with incredible hate and envy to see the same in France with so great and flourishing powers, fearing thereby the destruction of the French State, which he reputeth common unto him; wherefore I admonish your Majesty to be always circumspect against the Bishop's practices and machinations.'—Harvel to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 30.

'We have heard,' wrote Paul,[1] 'of the decrees of the late Diet at Spires, and neither the duty of our office nor the affection which we bear to your person will permit us to remain any longer silent. We remember the fate of Eli, whom God punished for neglecting to warn his children: we must avoid for ourselves incurring a similar peril. Your Majesty is imperilling your own soul; you are bringing destruction upon the Christian faith. We exhort you to return to the ways of your ancestors, and submit yourself to the judgment of Holy Church. Your late edicts, the words which you are reported to have used on the assembly of a national German council, prove that you no longer pay respect to him who alone may summon councils, who alone may pronounce sentence in questions of faith. You have allowed private persons—men who are openly noted of heresy—to utter their opinions in public. You have permitted the title of the Church to her estates to be treated as uncertain; and, slighting the advices of those who have remained obedient, you have restored to honour and dignity excommunicated apostates whom once, with your own lips, you condemned. We cannot believe that these hateful measures had their origin with your Majesty. You have been led astray by bad councillors, enemies of the Church. We tremble for you—we tremble for you when we think of that wicked one with whom you have committed yourself to an alliance. Remember the words of the apostle on the

[1] I am obliged to slightly abridge the Pope's language, but the substance is, I believe, adequately rendered.

danger of evil communications. You can make excuses —we doubt it not. Never yet was there conduct so flagitious that palliation could not be found to disguise it. But examine the Scriptures. See there the vengeance which alighted upon those who usurped the functions of the high priest. In a private household every member has his allotted place. In the House of God every Christian has his allotted function. The servant may not rise against his master; and in the Church the master is the priest. What is the lesson of the story of Uzzah? Uzzah might have thought his act was innocent when no Levite was present;[1] but God would not have it so. Do not you, like Uzzah, take on yourself the office of the priest at the bidding of self-made reformers. Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, the reformers of the old Church, were swallowed up alive in the earth. Uzziah was a good prince, but he offered incense on the altar, and was smitten with leprosy.[2]

'To the clergy alone Almighty God has given power to bind and to loose. It is a vain excuse that your edicts are but for a time—that you wait for a council. You have meddled with things which are not yours to touch. Wicked men may be among priests, but God alone may punish them; and ever in history it has been seen that those princes only have prospered

[1] 'And when they came to Nachon's threshing floor, Uzzah put forth his hand to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah, and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God.'—2 *Samuel*, cap. vi. vv. 6, 7.

[2] 2 *Chronicles*, cap. xxvi. vv. 16—21.

who have paid honour to the Church, and have respected the rights of the holy priesthood—princes such as Constantine was, as Theodosius was, as Charlemagne was.

'For the rest, we will not speak now of Nero, of Domitian, or of the persecutors—but princes in later times have set themselves in opposition to the Popes, and what has been their fate? Anastasius, Maurice, Henry IV., Frederick II., have borne witness, all of them, in their miserable ends, to the truth and power of the Almighty. Bad sovereigns, it may be, have sometimes seemed to prosper, in the opinion of the Fathers, lest, if all men were to suffer their just deserts in this world, it might be thought that there was no retribution elsewhere. But the heaviest judgment is the permission to sin and to appear to prosper. May your Majesty beware in time: you as yet are not given over to evil, but tremble at the future which may await you. Take example from Constantine, who, when desired to arbitrate among the bishops, refused to judge those who had power to judge all men. You desire a reformation in the Church. It is well. But your place is to assist, not to originate. We, too, desire reformation. We have laboured for a council—God knows how earnestly. We have failed; but we shall persevere. A council alone will heal the wounds of Christendom; and for a council there must be peace, which we implore your Majesty to grant. You have been our dearest child: as a tender parent, we counsel you for your own good. Assume to yourself no functions which do not belong to you. Forbid the Diet of the Empire to touch

questions which only the successor of St Peter may resolve. Respect the sacredness of the property of the Church. Lay down your arms, and refer your quarrel with France to the arbitration of the council. Revoke your concessions, or—cost us what it may—we must ourselves come forward, armed with the authority which God has given us, and act towards you as we shall regret that you have compelled us to act. We for ourselves shall at least have escaped the crime of Eli; and for yourself consider whether you will assist the efforts of the Father of Christendom to re-establish order and tranquillity, or lend yourself to those whose labour is to rend in pieces the Church of God.'[1]

To the arguments of this letter no one who desired to retain the name of a Catholic prince could reply; and arriving at a moment when the admonitions which it contained coincided with the suggestions of interest, it may well have persuaded the Emperor that he might lawfully pursue a line of action which worldly honour might condemn, but religion would emphatically approve. The Pope and the Catholic ministers by whom Charles was surrounded would have replied, if interrogated on the point of conscience, that, as it was a sin to enter an alliance with England, so it was a duty to break from it even at the expense of perjury. The Catholic world must have united in the same conclusion, in proportion to the earnestness and consistency with which they adhered to their faith; and though Charles

[1] Paul III. to the Emperor Charles V.: SLEIDAN.

may have left St Dizier with no settled resolution, he may have arrived at conviction before he reached Chasteau Thierry.

At any rate, this is indisputable, that, from the peace of Crêpy onward, the Emperor's conduct towards the Reformation on the Continent became consistently hostile; and although under fresh provocation from France he again coquetted with England, and even renewed the treaty which he had broken, he allowed the differences with Henry which followed his present desertion to be pressed to the very edge of a war.

While Charles was enjoying his success, and withdrawing at his leisure into Flanders, the English, whose dull consciences were unskilled in nice distinctions, at first took refuge in incredulity. Even the Count de Buren exclaimed that, if his master 'had compounded his causes without the King's Majesty, *par sang de Dieu* he would never after wear harness in his service;'[1] and Henry, who knew the terms of the message which he had sent, would not credit his ally with treachery while it was possible to doubt. But the necessary proof was not long in arriving. The Emperor being at peace with France, his subjects might no longer bear arms against it; and Count de Buren was ordered to withdraw with the Netherlands division from before Mottreul.[2] The Dauphin was reported to be coming down

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[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 84, note.

[2] So Du Bellay says, and de Buren in fact withdrew. The Emperor, however, denied that any such order had been given by him.—*State Papers*, vol. x. p. 98.

with forced marches to the coast; and four thousand fresh troops, which were coming from England at the beginning of September, and had been countermanded at the capture of Boulogne, were now sent for in haste. The Duke of Norfolk, being weakened by the defection of the Netherlanders, and being liable to be cut off by the advance of the French, raised the siege of Mottreul, and fell back.

The change in the state of affairs, as well as the condition of his health, required the King's presence in England. He crossed to Dover on the 30th of September, and a meeting was held instantly of the privy council, in which it was agreed to send a remonstrance to Charles, and call upon him, since he admitted that the treaty was still in force, to unite in insisting that France should abide by the terms which she had offered to England.[1]

October.

Henry's absence from the scene almost occasioned the loss of the one advantage which the English had gained. Norfolk had been ordered to occupy the heights behind the town, where the English army had spent the summer, and to remain there while the Dauphin was in the field. Either through timidity or mistake, he only left three thousand men and a party of pioneers under Sir Edward Poynings behind the half-repaired fortifications which had been destroyed in the siege, and retired within the Calais Pale. Irritated beyond measure at a disobedience which imperilled the only com-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 94.

pensating feature in his position, Henry wrote the most angry letter which survives of his composition. 'He marvelled how Norfolk had durst so to do without knowledge of his pleasure'—'excuse there was none.' He must return without a moment's delay to the position which he had been commanded to hold.[1] Unluckily, the King might order, but the mischief was done, and obedience was no longer possible. Between Calais and Boulogne the Dauphin now lay with fifty thousand men, horse and foot. Norfolk had but eight thousand remaining; and Boulogne must be left to the courage of the little band to whom it had been entrusted. The letter in which the Duke stated his inability to repair his error was written on the 7th of October. At midnight on the 9th a party of French made their way through the ruins of the walls of the lower town, wearing white shirts over their armour, to imitate the smock frocks of the English labourers. When the alarm was given they raised the English cry of 'Bows! bows!' and in the confusion, and protected by their disguise, they killed the sentinels and threw open the gates. Poynings, with the efficient portion of the garrison, was in the fortress on the higher ground. To meet the French were only the camp-followers, servants, and workmen, half-armed, encumbered with the disorder which had followed the siege, amidst stores freshly landed from England, spoils waiting to be removed, carts, waggons, the baggage of the army which

October 9

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 96.

had gone home, filling the streets and the quays. The enemy thronged in, at first meeting no opposition; they killed every one that they could find, and supposing that the garrison had not dared to encounter them, and had fled, they dispersed in search of pillage. Meantime the English had collected under the fortress; the alarm was given; arms were thrown out to them by the troops, and they swung back down the hill into the press. The French in turn were now surprised. They were scattered in small parties, and cut in pieces in all directions. M. de Fougerolles, who had led the attack, was killed, and they were unable to make an effective rally before Poynings, with the regular troops, was upon them. There was then a general rush for the walls and gates. Eight hundred fell before they could extricate themselves in the darkness, and the rest made their way to the Dauphin's camp, complaining that they had been betrayed. The Dauphin was furious at their carelessness. De Monluc, one of the French generals, accused the Dauphin of cowardice. The night passed in recrimination. In the morning they determined to repair their failure by a general assault.

But though the fortifications were still unrepaired, the English had not been idle in their three weeks of possession. The heavy guns which they had used in the siege had been mounted on the ramparts. Fresh cannon had been landed, which had been sent from Dover; and when the French army, which had come down in haste, with only their arms and horses, and were wholly without artillery, saw in the daylight the

reception which was waiting them, they hung back irresolute. The Dauphin, smarting under the taunts of De Monluc, would have gone forward at all hazards; but his hot blood was cooled by more prudent counsels. Leaving Boulogne, they made a dash at Guisnes, where they failed also; and they withdrew to return more efficiently provided, when the insolent Islanders were to be annihilated.[1]

The first burst of the onset had thus passed over. The English still held their acquisition, and for the present were likely to hold it. Norfolk was forgiven, though it would have gone hardly with him had the attack been successful; and reinforcements, provisions, and all other necessary materials were sent across in haste, to assist Poynings to prepare for the siege which would inevitably be attempted in the winter

The Emperor had trusted that Boulogne would have been recaptured; having been thus freed from his principal alarm, he might then have interposed to secure for England some peace not wholly ignominious. It had now become necessary for him to keep up appearances in another way, or he must relinquish the pretence of adhering to the treaty. It was arranged, therefore, that a conference should take place at Calais, in which Lord Hertford, Sir William Paget, and Gardiner, on behalf of the English, the Cardinal du Bellay and the President of Rouen for France, and De Courières and the Bishop of Arras for the Empire, should attempt to

[1] Du Bellay's *Memoirs*: and see Hall and Lord Herbert.

bring about an arrangement. Henry still persuaded himself that Charles had not been consciously treacherous, that he had really made peace from necessity, and that, if he was playing false, it must be with France rather than himself. Rumours, indeed, reached him that Francis had been offered the assistance of a Spanish force. He heard from good authority that, in a conversation with Cardinal Tournon and D'Annebault, the Emperor had described 'the English conditions as importable.'[1] But his own sense of honour was credulous of the honour of others; he attributed the words to Tournon, and 'marvelled rather that the Emperor did not answer' that the conditions were short of those which Francis had himself proposed, and which the King might have accepted had he consulted his separate interests.[2] Charles, on the other hand, was profuse in his expressions of goodwill to Wotton; he professed himself most anxious for peace—most desirous to forward it: at the same time, though he did not avow, yet he did not conceal, his desire that Boulogne should be restored; the French insisted on it, he said; if it was refused, no terms could be accepted; they were bringing up their whole naval force; they would command the Channel; they would invest the town by land and sea; he had told them that the English would hold their ground; but he

[1] 'The Emperor communing with the Cardinal of Tournon and the admiral of the conditions your Majesty sent to the French King, saith the conditions your Majesty required were importable.'—*State Papers*, vol. x. p. 99.

[2] Ibid. p. 102.

gave no hint that he would himself move to assist them in doing so.[1]

On the 18th of October the Calais conference opened, while the Dauphin's army, still twenty-six thousand strong, hovered at Mottreul, and threatened to return to the attack if the negotiations came to nothing. The Duke of Norfolk, in a preliminary interview with Arras, informed him of the resolutions in which England would persist, and of their expectations under the treaty. 'We took it,' he warned the Bishop, 'that, if leagues were of force and strength, like as the French King sued apart to the Emperor, fearing both princes' powers, so must he now sue to the King's Majesty, fearing both princes' powers; and if the Emperor would not maintain them, they would have cause to complain to the world of faith and leagues as justly as ever men did.'[2] The representatives of the three powers then assembled, and Cardinal du Bellay required a statement of the English demands. They were simple, being a repetition of the terms which he had brought himself five weeks previously from Paris, with the addition of a retention of their conquest as a security for their debt. But five weeks had made other differences besides the capture of a French town. 'Then was then,' the French commissioners frankly answered, 'and now is now.' If they pleased, they might dispute the pensions; and, for 'damages of war,' it was they,

October 18.

[1] Wotton to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 109, &c.

[2] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 125.

whose country had been invaded, whose towns had been assaulted, whose villages had been wasted, that had most right to ask for 'damages.' But in the interests of Europe they would consent to waive the letter of their last claims. They would admit their debts, and they would pay them; but that should be their last and only concession. No inch of French ground should be surrendered. In Scotland they would act as they pleased, and would not listen to dictation. Let the English evacuate Boulogne on the instant, and they should have their money. If they refused, the Dauphin would take it by force, and they should have nothing.

The Peace of Crêpy was bearing fruit. Paget said calmly that Boulogne belonged to England for the present by right of conquest; they meant to keep it, and by the Emperor's help they would keep it. He appealed to the Bishop of Arras. But Arras 'had no commission,' and would say nothing. Arras was sent to bring about a peace with France, not to discuss the obligations of other powers. The French felt their ground firm; they again clamoured for restitution, and 'they bragged of their force of thirty thousand men.'

What were the English to do? If the question had been merely whether the possession of a second fortress in France, in addition to Calais, was worth the continuance of the war—although as a naval station, and as a material guarantee for the settlement of other differences, the occupation was of no slight value to them—it might have been doubted whether the advantages were worth the price which they might cost. But the point

of the matter was rather whether England, engaged in a mortal duel with the Papacy, could afford to make a confession of weakness to the world, and submit to be the dupe of a trick which the nation was too feeble to resent. It was emphatically certain that they could not. If the Emperor would not stand by them, it seemed rather that they must show that they could stand themselves without his assistance. If he would break his faith, he might do so; 'but, when all friendship should fail,' the English commissioners replied, 'there was not a man within the realm of England but would spend all that ever he had, and adventure his person withal, towards the defence and keeping of Boulogne.'[1]

The resolution was definitive. There would be no yielding, and the French rose to depart. It was decided, on second thoughts, that, before the conference closed finally, there should be a reference on both sides to Paris and London; but peace appeared impossible. During the interval which followed, Du Bellay, being under the impression that the English were still deceiving themselves with expectations from Charles V., sought a private interview with Paget, and lifted a corner of the veil which covered the mystery of Crêpy. The Pope, he said, had laboured with all his efforts to prevent even the present conference,[2] and had offered to spend the jewels in his crown in the maintenance of the quarrel. The Emperor was treacherous to the core. He had

[1] Hertford, Paget, and Gardiner to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 130.

[2] Ibid. p. 131.

already secretly agreed with Paul for a general council to open at Trent in the spring; and the first act of that council would be to summon the King of England to appear by his representatives, and if he refused, to declare him contumacious. And here Du Bellay, as Paget informed the King, 'went about at length to blaspheme the Emperor, telling many discourses how he had deceived all the world, and how he would eftsoons deceive your Majesty, and that he would lose his life if the Emperor ever entered again into the war for your pleasure.'[1] But the truth, if this was the truth, could make no difference. After a few days' delay, answers came from the two Governments. The French commissioners were instructed to break up the conference. Henry, through the Duke of Norfolk, sent over his own resolutions in language not conciliatory. 'The Duke,' he wrote, 'shall answer to the Cardinal du Bellay's saying that his master would have Boulogne rendered unto him again, or else if he won it by force he would pay neither pensions nor arrears—thus: 'Thinketh he that the King's Majesty is so inferior to his master that his Highness dare not contrary to his will? that his Majesty is so afeared with his threats that his Highness would obey thereto? He may stand so in his own conceit; but by all the journeys which his Majesty or his lieutenants have made hitherto into France, it hath never showed so, nor his Majesty trusted never shall. It shall be a dear Boulogne to him an he recover it for all his brags.''[2]

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 140.

[2] Henry VIII. to the Duke of Norfolk; *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 143.

The Emperor's intentions should now be ascertained with distinctness. Of all the English ministers Gardiner was most interested in those intentions. The alliance had been the triumph of his policy; if it fell through, his influence at home, already waning, would be lost utterly. Gardiner, therefore, was permitted to go from Calais to Brussels, and to learn Charles's meaning from his own lips. The apology for the peace had been the supposed consent of Henry through the Bishop of Arras; but even by the Bishop's story the maintenance of the treaty had been a condition of that consent; and the French, by their recent attack on Guisnes, had created one of the contingencies for which the treaty definitely provided. The Emperor, therefore, it was thought, would be forced to declare himself; and Henry wrote to him with his own hand, assuring him that, as to Boulogne, even if he would himself surrender it, his subjects would not consent;[1] and entreating him, for the sake of their friendship, not to trifle with him, but to speak the truth, whatever the truth was to be.[2]

The result of the first interview with Charles and his minister was reported on the 27th of October. The Bishop of Winchester, as a partial check upon his tendencies, had been accompanied by Hertford. October 27.

[1] The Privy Council, writing to Paget, endorsed this opinion. 'We think,' they said, 'for so much as we can perceive here, there is not one Englishman but will spend all that he hath with his blood an Boulogne shall again be French.' — *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 137.

[2] 'Vous priant affectueusement, de vous montrer en cest endroit comme l'amitie que longue temps a este entre nous le requiert et nous balier per iceulx brieffe et resolute responce.'—Henry VIII. to Charles V.; ibid. p. 133.

They found the Emperor himself apparently frank. They read over the terms of the alliance, which, as they said, were 'so open and so express, as he that could but read and understand language could not mistake them;' and the Emperor, though he admitted that, having made peace with France, he would be glad to remain quiet, yet allowed that 'his first faith was to his good brother, and that he would not break.' The difficulty was about Boulogne. He could not ask Henry to surrender it; and yet he trusted 'that a way might be found.' Granvelle would go into details with them; and whatever the treaty should require of him, he would observe without fail. Both words and manner were reassuring. They hastened to the minister, who showed them the reverse of the page. They spoke again of the treaty; Granvelle met them with eager promptness, and snapped the strongest clauses, as the Jewish hero broke the new cords with which his mistress had bound him. The league, he said, was conditional; and by remaining at Boulogne Henry had broken the terms. It was to last only till both parties were content; and his son of Arras was positive that Henry had declared himself content. The attack on Guisnes was but a part of the attempt on Boulogne; and the Emperor was not to go to war to make conquests for England. He was asked if he thought it likely 'that the King of England should have been content that the Emperor should have the commodity of war, and let his Highness shift.' 'My son of Arras' was again the referee, from whom he admitted no appeal. The English envoys were

not without experience in diplomatic legerdemain; but so daring a practitioner was new to them. M. de Granvelle then considered, they said, that it was becoming and proper 'that, after so great treasure spent, with the travail of his Highness's person, the Emperor, his confederate, enjoying a triumphant peace concluded with hostages, his Highness should be forced to fall to entreaty, and say, 'I pray you let me have somewhat.' If his object was to find a loophole, 'whereby to declare the Emperor discharged,' they desired him to say so in plain words. They would not undertake to commend his honesty; but the truth under any form would be welcome to them.

'Hereat,' they reported, 'M. de Granvelle seemed somewhat moved, and said it was not the fashion of that Court to speak so.'[1] But they could extract nothing from him; at every point where they fastened a hold he escaped into generalities, doubts, uncertainties, and 'my son of Arras;' he would see what was to be done; or the Emperor would see; they should have their answer in a few days.

A week passed and they were again sent for. The treaty, they were informed briefly, had been carefully considered, and was found to carry with it no such obligations as the English pretended. The Emperor would observe to the letter his duties to the King of England; but, having made peace with France, with his good brother's consent, it could in no sense be a

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 156.

duty to return to a state of war; and therefore he must not, and would not. Gardiner's hopes had received their death-stroke; he must prepare for the now inevitable consequences.

By this time the approach of the Council of Trent was known to be a certainty. Special letters of invitation had been addressed by Paul to the Emperor and the King of France. Charles had promised to be present in person: he had undertaken, if possible, to bring Francis with him; and had assured himself and the Pope of the consent of 'all Christian princes except the King of England.'[1] Whether force or treachery would be employed towards the Germans had not as yet been made manifest; but they, too, as well as England, had caught the alarm. Their instincts taught them that the Peace of Crêpy was no gratuitous treachery; that the unscrupulousness which had broken the English treaty would as little regard the promises of Speyer; and the keener-sighted among them were feeling acutely that the friends of the Reformation might not be divided by minor differences, that they must forget the divorce of Anne of Cleves, and again, if possible, attach themselves to Henry. In the course of October the Landgrave spoke confidentially to Christopher Mont. Mont wrote to Paget at Calais; and Paget was sufficiently aware of Henry's disposition to be not only able to reply favourably as to a general amity, but to add that, if the attempt which had failed in 1538 to come to an agreement

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 168.

in matters of religion, were now renewed, it would perhaps have a different result.[1] Gardiner saw it all. The future rose before him ominous of evil. The spirit of Cromwell was reviving; and heresy would be once more in the ascendant. To avert so frightful a calamity, he made a last and a remarkable effort. The Bishop of Arras was the person most responsible for the present complications. If the Bishop could be prevailed upon to tell the truth, his father and the Emperor would lose their excuse, and would be forced back, in spite of themselves, to Henry's side. With a hope which he perhaps was fond enough to believe might be fulfilled, he wrote therefore the ensuing letter:— November.

'Right Reverend Lord—

'Unwilling as I am to enter in private upon public subjects, yet our last conference has so afflicted me, that, to relieve the sorrow of my heart, I address myself to you, a bishop to a bishop, and I trust that your goodness will forgive me. At all times I have been zealous above most men for the honour and good name of the Emperor, an honour hitherto spotless in its purity, yet now, I know not through what misfortune, tarnished by

[1] 'I doubt not but if they had sent, or shall send to his Majesty, minding to grow to any good and indifferent conformity in certain matters of religion, which was the cause why there was no full agreement at the last time they sent ambassadors, such answers should have been and yet shall be made to them, as wherewith they shall have good and just cause to be contented.' — Paget to Mont: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 188

those who ought to have been its especial defenders. The Emperor's honour, I say, is compromised so long as we, to whom you are bound with so many ties, are left single-handed in this war; and do you think that so fair an opportunity will be passed over by those who, in their eagerness to calumniate him, have stooped to falsehood? The Emperor himself, I am well assured, would never have broken his faith and perilled his soul to gain the whole world. He is prudent. He may shrink from labour and expense which he may decline without dishonour; and so far none will blame him. But he is under an error, and the error is one for which men say that you are responsible. You will be charged with having broken an alliance between two honourable princes by your unworthy manœuvres. Bear with me. I do but tell you in private what others will proclaim in the streets. You came to us to learn our demands; and when you told us of the embarrassment of the Emperor, the King's Majesty was contented, for his friend's convenience, to relinquish many claims which in fairness he might have urged. Our conditions were detailed to you, and you were told that the Emperor might arrange his own; but we stipulated for adherence to the treaty. His Highness, you were directed to say, was not unwilling for a peace, but with conditions which you cannot deny. I require you, therefore, to say whether, in the face of a treaty which declares the satisfaction of the King's Majesty a preliminary of any peace which either of the contracting powers may enter, which prescribes special terms of satisfaction—although

his Highness was contented, for the sake of amity, to relax those terms—you can pretend that it is with his Majesty's consent that he finds himself thus left alone. You profess to have reported his very expressions; but your father has taken so many of those expressions as make for his convenience, and, incredible and absurd as they are if divided from the remainder of the message, he claims in them a justification of his own and his master's conduct. I marvel he is not ashamed so to trifle with your master's credit as to make you responsible for a story which all men know to be a lie, which we, for our own sake, are bound to expose and protest against. Sorry am I, for the credit of our order, that you should have borne a part in this farce at a time when, if there be a knavish action performed anywhere, a bishop is ever suspected of having played a chief hand in it.'[1]

Gardiner could lay on the lash; but also Arras could endure without flinching. The council met again and again to listen to the protests of the ambassadors, but Arras gave no sign, and Granvelle received the thrusts which were aimed at him with impenetrable indifference. 'They thought,' and 'they believed,' and 'they would consider.' 'Consider!' Gardiner at last passionately exclaimed, 'if you would consider well, Nov. 14.

[1] 'Dolet has fabulæ partes egisse te, vel communi episcoporum causâ hoc tempore præsertim in quo si quid astute aut callide fiat in eo primas ad episcopos deferunt.' — Exemplum Litterarum ad Arabatensem Episcopum; *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 193.

the Emperor has more hurt from you than the King of England. The King is spending only his treasure, which is reparable. The Emperor is spending his honour and credit, which is not reparable.' 'We bade them good night,' he wrote in a letter to England, 'as academics that would neither say yea nor nay, with purpose when we come to the Emperor to tell him a very plain tale.'[1]

The Bishop and Hertford had been directed to take their last answer only from Charles. An interview which they resolved to make decisive was conceded, and three days later they were received in his private apartments. He had been suffering from a return of gout, and when they entered he 'was sitting in a low chair with his legs wrapped in a cloth.' Men who play for high stakes in life know the value of simplicity in common things; and Charles, like Augustus Cæsar, in his private intercourse, exchanged the monarch for the well-bred gentleman. The Viceroy of Sicily and M. du Praet came in with the English. The Emperor was full of courtesy; he 'devised familiarly on his disease;' and Du Praet being a fellow-sufferer, 'the Emperor smiled upon him and bade him take a stool and sit down, for no one should see him.' He then 'fashioned himself' to hear what Gardiner and Hertford had to say.

Nov. 17.

They went at length over the often-trodden ground. They complained of Granvelle, whose language, they

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 201.

said, touched the Emperor's honour. They tried to have confidence in himself, but they knew not what to think; and Hertford, without betraying names, mentioned the words which Cardinal du Bellay had used to Paget.

Charles replied, and with extreme graciousness. He professed his deep regard for the King. There had been matters between them, it was true, in time past, which, in other hands than his, might have caused displeasure; but he had put them aside; and now, he should have thought, his goodwill could scarcely be suspected. He had examined the treaty, and he seemed to admit that there was a kind of force in it. But it was now winter. If he declared war as they desired, he could not move till the spring; while at present, as a friend of France, he could use his intercession to some advantage. Compared to Charles, what a novice in diplomacy was Granvelle! The envoys had come full of indignation, and resolute to force an answer clear and positive. The courteous manner disarmed their attacks; the evasion was so delicate, that it could not offend. At such a season, as the Emperor suggested, the delay of a few weeks was of no importance; and it was hinted that the French were slower than they ought to have been in evacuating the towns in Savoy. On the whole, it seemed better to the Bishop of Winchester—still clinging to the skirts of his vanishing dream—'to depart with a dark answer than with a clear resolution,' if an unfavourable one. The interview closed as the rest had closed—not, however, without a few plain

words, for which we may perhaps credit Lord Hertford.

'They desired the Emperor to consider the matter, and to remember that his Majesty was a prince of knowledge and of courage, who, upon confidence of the Emperor's amity, had entered the war with a marvellous charge. Hitherto the treaty had served the Emperor's purpose, and now it was reason his Majesty had some commodity by it; and if it was not regarded now, it would never be regarded. And how that would wound his Majesty's heart, and the hearts of his Highness's subjects likewise, it was good to be considered, and with speed. England had stood the Emperor in good stead. Let the Emperor order England so as it might do so again. The world of itself was changeable, and he had to do with a people that had changed with him often.'[1]

The circulars for the Council of Trent had meanwhile been sent round among the higher clergy. The unwearied Pope began again to weave a league against England; and in the first week in December a war was talked of in the Netherlands, which events seemed as if they might easily precipitate.[2] Charles's Catholic subjects, who wished well to France, had fitted out ships in the Scheldt, and carried stores into the French harbours. French merchants had hired

December.

[1] Hertford and Gardiner to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 206.

[2] 'They begin to say abroad that the Bishop of Rome solicitates much the Emperor to make a league betwixt the Emperor, the French King, and him, whereby he would attempt to force your Majesty to agree to their opinions; and they that speak hereof seem to fear the breach of amity betwixt your Majesty and these countries.'—Wotton to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 231.

Flemish ships to carry on their trade, covering their cargoes under a neutral flag. The English privateers held themselves at liberty to enforce blockades, under pain of confiscation, and seize enemies' goods wherever they could find them. Sixteen or seventeen vessels belonging to Antwerp were brought into Dartmouth and Fowey, and condemned. The owners were furious, and clamoured for reprisals. Simultaneously the Inquisition began its work in the Low Countries. Prohibitory edicts were issued. Heretics began again to be hunted out, seized, and burnt. Even to common observers the situation revealed its meaning. It was time for all who intended to escape from being crushed by the Papacy to look about them. Mont's letter from Germany, and Paget's answer, were followed speedily by positive advances. The princes of the Smalcaldic League aroused themselves to a sense of their peril. Francis was said to have vowed revenge for the grant of aid in the war by the Diet. The fate of the Duke of Cleves taught them what to expect from Charles if he really intended to deceive them. An alliance with England was the best hope for themselves and for their cause. Maurice of Saxe sent offers to take service under Henry against France. The Landgrave more positively undertook to join him with twelve thousand men. Henry replied to them both, with an eager welcome as soldiers; and he confirmed the hope that a deeper union was no longer impossible. In England, as well as Germany, it is likely that principle was quickened by self-interest. The Protestant Alliance was the invariable resource

when the attitude of the Empire was ambiguous. Yet that Henry was prepared to accept a further progress in the Reformation, as forced upon him by Charles's treachery, the following message, which he addressed through Mont to Prince Maurice and the Landgrave, may be allowed to prove :—

'Albeit, heretofore, certain commissioners of both parties assembled together, and being without respect one to another's policy, and more earnest and vehement in some points on both sides than was requisite, they departed without any such conclusion as with some indifferent handling might have succeeded, to the ensured conjunction and amity of both us and our dominions, and the universal weal and quiet of all Christendom, you,' the King said to Mont, 'shall say that, of this entry and beginning again you trust to see some good effect succeed of these matters, wherein no nations of Christendom be so like to agree as we be . . . having one *certain* enemy the Bishop of Rome, and being both of such a zeal as, if they would grow to some good moderation, and address some good men and well learned to talk and confer again in the matters of religion, with commissioners to be appointed for our part—either party somewhat relenting from extremities, and framing themselves to a godly indifferency and moderation—the agreement and conclusion must needs ensue of the said meeting, which hitherto hath been so often desired, to the glory and honour of God and His word, the establishment of a perfect amity between us, and to the terrour of others which have always, and yet do still con-

tinually travail and practise to hinder and impeach the same.'[1] The promise of union was again fair: again it was fated to fail.

[1] Henry VIII. to Beauclerk and Mont: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 222.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE INVASION.

THE fortifications necessary for the defence of Boulogne, the garrison, the fleet, the ordnance stores, the troops at Calais, on the Scottish Border, and in Ireland, were reported as likely to cost, in the six months from December to May, a hundred and four thousand pounds.[1] The second instalment of the last subsidy—which had been collected, but was not yet paid into the treasury—would yield, it was calculated, a hundred thousand; but nearly half that sum was already due for the arrears of the past year. Upwards of forty thousand more would be, therefore, in instant requisition; and the King had coined down the crown plate, and had raised the last penny which he could for the present obtain by sale or mortgage of his estates. Parliament was to have met on the 1st of February; and as the nation was placed on its mettle by the Emperor's desertion, Parliament would no doubt be liberal. But a money bill could not

1545. January.

[1] Minute of Mr Secretary Paget on the State of the Realm: HAINES' *State Papers*, vol. i.

be carried through the Houses in less than a month; and, by general usage, five months were always allowed to elapse between the vote of a supply and the levy of the first payment. It was thought unjust, also, to press so soon for a second war tax on the body of the people; and at a moment when every nobleman and gentleman was exerting himself to the utmost in preparing his tenants for service in the ensuing summer, to bring many of them to London in the winter and the spring would distract them from their duties, and expose them to a needless expense.[1] For these reasons the privy council decided that the meeting of Parliament should be postponed till the following autumn; and that, for immediate necessities, a benevolence should be levied exclusively from the opulent classes. Should the war continue, a subsidy might be asked for when it could be paid with less inconvenience.[2] 'The

[1] HAINES' *State Papers*, vol. i. The readiness of the country to support the Government is well described by Becon: 'When the King's letters were delivered for the preparing of certain people apt for the wars, how expeditely was his Grace's pleasure accomplished in every condition! The gentlemen, all other businesses laid aside, immediately provided their appointed number of men, arraying them with decent martial armour, so that nothing wanted, but all things set at such a stay that they, receiving premonition of very little time, were ready at all hours to bring forth their men apt and ready for the wars. The men which were pressed to go unto the wars it was almost incredible to see and perceive what alacrity and quickness of spirit was in them. They seemed to be so desirous to defend their country, that they in a manner neglected their domestical travails, their private business, not much esteemed their dear wives and children, no nor yet their own lives, so that they might in any point do good to the public weal of England.'—STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. i. pp. 601, 602.

[2] Paget takes credit to the council for patriotism in this arrangement. 'If we should regard our

common people,' for the current year 'should not be grieved;'[1] and no person should be called on to contribute unless with his own consent, or unless his circumstances notoriously justified a demand upon him.[2]

Fifty or sixty thousand pounds, it was calculated, might be raised in this way; and thus they might struggle on till May. Forty thousand more would then fall in from sales of Crown lands already effected; and the ordinary revenue might afterwards be sufficient for the summer campaign. The estimate of expenses (as usual in such cases) fell far short of the reality; but the alternative lay only between a bold bearing, at whatever cost, and a peace equivalent to a defeat. The bulk of the people had no cause to complain; and the gentlemen preferred the honour of their country to their personal convenience. The clergy, being unable to give active assistance, were expected to be the largest contributors. The Bishop of Bath—not, indeed, without some gentle pressing—yielded a thousand marks.[3]

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private commodities,' he says, 'we would rather desire a Parliament than none, for then we should pay nothing more than the law appointeth; whereas now, upon prorogation of the Parliament, we shall pay that which the law will bind us unto, and also every of us will stretch himself besides to his power in benevolence.' — Paget's Minute: HAINES, vol. i.

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid. From a passage in the same minute it seems that the unfruitfulness of the King's last marriage was creating great anxiety. 'As to the matter of the succession,' he says, 'as it is undoubtedly a marvellous great matter, so we trust that God, which hath hitherto preserved his Majesty to his glory and honour, and to our comfort, will preserve him longer and send him time enough both to proceed for that and many other things which be to be looked upon.'

[3] *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xvi.

In general the money was paid in cheerfully; and the only resistance of a demonstrative kind was offered by a few tradesmen and merchants in London. Alderman Reed objected to a demand which he considered unconstitutional. Alderman Rock was insolent to the commissioners for the collection. The latter was consigned to three months' meditation in the Fleet Prison. The former, appealing to the letter of his bond, was taken at his word. The feudal duties of his office, though commuted by long usage for money payments, bound him to render military service for a fixed period at the call of the Crown: he was ordered to the Scotch Border to join the troops under Lord Evers.[1] With these insignificant exceptions, the Government had no cause to complain of backwardness.

Meanwhile Sir Thomas Seymour kept the seas open with the fleet, while supplies were thrown into Boulogne. The Thames and the harbours along the southern coast were crowded with prizes brought in by the adventurers. The amount of provisions which had been taken was so considerable as to affect the markets, and keep down for the present a rise of prices; and (a noticeable evidence of the temper of the time) the churches belonging to the suppressed houses of religion in London were converted into warehouses for reception of the confiscated cargoes. The Grey Friars was filled with wine; Austin Friars and Black Friars with salt herring and dried cod. Nor had the winter suspended more active hos-

[1] Holinshed; Stow; Lord Herbert.

tilities. France had risen for the struggle as gallantly as her ancient rival. The shadow of English domination, which had receded to the single point of Calais, was again threatening to advance; and the French people, exhausted as they were, threw out their whole strength for the conflict.[1] They would drive the intruders from the Continent. They would carry the war across the Channel. They would seize Thanet or the Isle of Wight. Their spies were surveying Kent and Surrey, for a possible march upon London.[2] Before all things, and without delay, they would recover Boulogne.

[1] 'Last year the French King had much ado to get any money of his subjects against the Emperor. Against us they are content to give all that they have.'—Wotton to Paget: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 461: and see Du Bellay's *Memoirs*.

[2] Stephen Vaughan sent the following information to the King, from Antwerp: 'A French broker,' he said, 'hath secretly called upon me. He asked me if there was not in England an island called Sheppy, and a place by it called Margate, and by those two a haven. I said there was. "Then," said he, "you may perceive I have heard of these places, though I have never been there myself. To the effect of my discovery," said he, "you shall understand that the French King hath sent unto this town of Antwerp a gentleman of Lorrayne named Joseph Chevalier. The same hath sent out of this town, two days past, a Frenchman, being a bourgeois of Antwerp, named John Boden, together with another man that nameth himself to be born in Geneva, but indeed he is a Frenchman. These two," he said, "were sent from hence in a hoy by sea, and had delivered unto them eleven packs of canvass to be by them uttered and sold in London, and the money coming thereof to maintain their charges there. The said Joseph Chevalier, besides these two, hath sent another broker named John Young, also of this town; he speaketh singularly well the English tongue. These three shall meet together in London, and shall lodge in a Fleming's house dwelling by the Thames, named Waters. The first two shall have charge to view and consider the said Isle of Sheppy, Margate, and the grounds between them and London; what landing there may be for the French King's army, what soils to place an army strongly in. For," said he, "the

On the 26th of January M. de Biez, with fourteen thousand men, encamped opposite the town, across the river, and commenced throwing up works to command the entrance of the harbour.[1] The site which he designed for the fort was by the sand-hills, close to the sea; and could he have succeeded in establishing himself there, he could have sunk any vessel which attempted to pass, and the fall of the place would have been inevitable. But the English engineers had been too quick for him: a chain of works had been extended along the ridge which follows the north bank of the river, from the citadel to the mouth. At the extremity, where a pillar stood which was called 'the Old Man,' batteries, heavily armed, commanded the southern shore, and from their elevated situation could search the French trenches. M. de Biez was compelled to take a position, comparatively useless, in front of Boulogne itself. Here for ten days he was allowed to remain un-

French King hath bruited that he will send forth this summer three armies, one to land in England, the second in Scotland, and the third he mindeth to send to Boulogne, and Guisnes, and Calais. But his purpose is to send no army to Scotland, for he hath appointed with the Scots that while his armies shall be arrived, the one at Margate and the other at Boulogne, they shall set upon the north parts of England, with all the power they can make. The French King proposeth with his army that he appointeth to land in the Isle of Sheppy and at Margate, to send great store of victuals, which shall be laden in boats of Normandy with flat bottoms, which, together with the galleys, shall then set men on land. This army shall go so strong that it shall be able to give battle, and is minded, if the same may be able, to go through to London, where,' said he, 'a little without the same is a hill from which London lyeth all open, and with their ordnance laid from thence they shall beat the town.''—*State Papers*, vol. x. p. 302.

[1] Du Bellay's *Memoirs*

disturbed; but the number of the garrison had now been raised to seven thousand—the choicest soldiers which England could supply; and Lord Hertford was in command, whose ability as a general was as remarkable as his weakness as a statesman. Waiting for a favourable tide, they stole across the water two hours before daybreak on the 6th of February, and flung themselves in the darkness on the French camp. The surprise was complete, and caused a panic, instant and irredeemable. Tents, stores, artillery, were left to their fate; the whole army thought only of saving their lives, and fled towards Mottreul, being chased as far as Hardelot sands by a reserve of English cavalry, who, returning at their leisure, swept the supplies of the country before them within the lines of Boulogne.[1]

Feb. 6.

This brilliant exploit was a fair commencement of the year. The lustre of it was clouded by a disaster which followed shortly after in Scotland. The sack of Edinburgh and the havoc on the Borders had been intended for a punishment; but the effect, so far from being salutary, had only been to exasperate. The Government was strengthened everywhere by an effervescence of patriotism; the Earl of Lennox had been forced to take refuge with Henry, who rewarded his services with the hand of Lady Margaret Douglas.

Lord Evers continued through the winter his desolating inroads; and the numbers and condition of his

[1] Holinshed; Hall; Du Bellay: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 289.

troops were maintained on so high a scale, that the Scots could neither retaliate nor effectually check them. Jedburgh and Kelso were again ravaged. Coldingham was taken and fortified, and an English garrison was left in possession; and though Arran attempted to recover it by assault, he failed disgracefully: except for the energy of Angus, whose patriotism was stronger than his promises to Henry, he would have left his guns under the walls to the enemy. Yet these misadventures added only to the hatred of the people without exciting their fears. The rumour had gone abroad of the menace of the annexation. Evers and Sir Brian Layton, it was said, had promised to conquer the whole country south of the Forth. Imagination had added that the land was to be desolated, 'the noblemen to be made into shepherds,' or else the population—man, woman, and child—to be exterminated.[1] Encouraged by the despair which these stories provoked, by the promise of assistance from France, and the expectation of a war between England and the Empire,[2] the Scots determined that they would never yield while a sword remained unbroken or an arm was left to strike a blow. The Douglases continued to correspond with Henry and affect a goodwill; but the King judged their in-

[1] Henry VIII. to Sir George Douglas; Douglas to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 415—418. The inroads of the English in the winter were distinguished by peculiar ferocity. Evers's troops were many of them English Marchers, who carried their personal feuds into the war; and if Sir George Douglas spoke the truth, some of these had even killed women and children.

[2] *State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 415—418.

tentions from their actions rather than their words; and the Wardens of the Marches, who had spared their estates so long as they were believed to be on the English side, had in the late inroads involved them in the general ruin.

The Scots could not bring a power into the field to meet their enemies openly; but stratagem might, perhaps, balance the inequality of force. High words passed in the middle of February between Evers and Sir George Douglas, on account of the rigorous execution of the last orders.[1] A few days later a party of Scots, pretending to be confederates with the English, brought information to Berwick that the Regent was lying with a small force at Melrose, and might be surprised. Evers started to seize him, with from four to five thousand men, on the 25th of February.

Feb. 25.

The Regent retired as he advanced. Evers took possession of the abbey, and, either disappointed of expected assistance from the Earl of Angus, or hearing that he was with the Regent, he allowed his irritation to provoke him into an act of gratuitous barbarism. The princely ancestors of the Earl, for centuries the arbiters of Scotland, slept in the aisles of Melrose Abbey. Evers insulted the waning greatness of an almost imperial family, by desecrating their tombs. He then turned in pursuit of the Regent, who hovered at a distance, and would not allow himself to be overtaken; and the English, after an ineffectual chase

Feb. 26.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 417.

for a day and a night, at length gave up the enterprise, and on the morning of the 27th were returning from Melrose to Jedburgh, across Ancram Muir. They were weary with a long march. The Scots, though they did not know it, were before and behind them; and at this time, whatever may have been their previous intentions, the Douglases were with the Regent. The first body of the enemy which the English saw they rushed upon with careless eagerness; but a high wind and a violent dust threw them into disorder. Angus shouted to Arran, 'Thou art suspected to be a coward, and I to be a traitor: if thou wouldst purge thyself of slander, let deeds, not painted speeches, now make your apology.' A heron rose out of the moor as they charged upon the shaken ranks of the invaders. 'I would my good goss-hawk were here,' he cried; 'we should all yoke together.' The English stood their ground for a time; but they were surprised in an ambuscade,[1] and found themselves Feb. 27.

[1] They were probably trusting to the guidance of the Scots, who had drawn them into the expedition. Paget, writing from the Netherlands to the King, says, 'There was some treason among the Scots that were come in to your Majesty; that being a thing before contrived and conjurated between them and the governour, and therefore a certain conclusion made among them that the thing must follow as it did, the Scots advertised the same not being yet done over hither as a thing already done. For the same day the fight was in Scotland the question was asked me here of the thing, and whether your Highness's lieutenant was slain or taken with all his army.'

And again, in a letter from the privy council we find: 'If Ralph Evers had not given too much credit to those false new reconciled Scots, he was like to have had as good success and as much honour of that journey as ever he had of any since the beginning of these wars.'—*State Papers*, vol. x. pp. 334, 354.

attacked on all sides by enemies, who appeared to have arisen out of the morasses. They wavered, broke, and fled in utter disorder, leaving their commanders to their fate.

English gentlemen, in early ages as well as late, seem to have known how to behave on such occasions. Evers, Layton, Lord Ogle, and a hundred more, 'most of them persons of quality,'[1] were killed; a thousand prisoners—among them the recalcitrant alderman of London—paid for their cowardice by the ransom which was wrung from them. The victory had been won by Angus, in a not unjust revenge. But he remained, or pretended to remain, true to a cause with which he refused to identify the English commander. His friends condescended to apologize for his conduct, as forced upon him;[2] and the Earl himself, if the words which he was said to have used, when threatened with the anger of Henry, were truly ascribed to him, implied that he had rather been provoked by an affront, than become false to his general policy. 'Is our good brother offended,' he exclaimed, 'that I am a good Scotchman; that I revenged on Ralph Evers the abusing of the tombs of my forefathers at Melrose? They were more honourable men than he; and I ought

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[1] Buchanan and Calderwood say 'two hundred.' They have doubled the real number.—See *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 354.

[2] 'As anentis the last business where your subjects gate displeasure, your Grace may be sure on mine honour it was so far sought by your Majesty's warden on the Earl of Angus, that he behoved to fight or take great shame.'—The Earl of Cassilis to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 425.

to have done no less. Will King Henry for that have my life? Little knows he the skirts of Kernetable. I will keep myself there from the whole English army.'[1] Young Leslie, the Master of Rothes, one of the party who had volunteered to kill Beton, was also in the battle, and, after Angus, contributed most to the victory of the Scots. If conciliation had failed to gain the body of the people, chastisement seemed to have alienated the few who were well inclined.

Ancram Muir was almost the last success which the Scots gained. The substantial advantage was nothing. The English army was increased to thirty thousand men; and fresh devastations, to which no resistance could be attempted, avenged the defeat. One small party from Carlisle was cut off on the West Marches, and then the heavy hand of Hertford was again laid on Scotland.

Abroad, however, the consequences might have been more serious. The exulting eagerness of the Catholics magnified a skirmish into a battle, and the destruction of a marauding division into a lost campaign. The strength of England was said to be broken; and even the cautious Emperor was encouraged further in the belief, of which he had already given evidence, that he might himself venture into the lists. A secret correspondence commenced between Charles, Cardinal Pole, and the Papal faction in the Scottish Government;[2] and

[1] CALDERWOOD, vol. i. p. 182.

[2] 'Forasmuch as the Scottish priests lately taken on the seas hath declared and shewed unto us certain things as well touching the secret dispatch of the Emperor into Scot-

that from the Empire a serious danger was threatened, the English Government had too much reason to fear. The nice point of the right of neutrals in time of war, which had been raised by the seizure of the Flemish ships, might have been settled by an amicable conference. The treaty of 1543, foreseeing possible differences between the two Governments, had prescribed an especial method of dealing with any disputes which might arise. But Charles had evidently no desire for a settlement. The treaty prohibited reprisals. On the 6th of January the English subjects in the Low Countries had been arrested, their property was sequestered, their ships were seized, and an Imperial edict explained so violent a measure as a retaliation for the outrage committed by the English privateers.[1] The impression in Antwerp was, that a declaration of war would immediately follow. There was a panic upon the Bourse; and the large population which depended for their living on the manufacture of English wool expected immediate ruin.[2]

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land, whereof we lately advertised, as also the conveyance of letters to and from Cardinal Pole by an English friar at Antwerp, which we caused him to put in writing, we have thought good to address these unto you with the same writing of the priest's own hand.'—Tunstall and Sadler to Paget: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 447. The priest's confession is in the note in the same page.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. pp. 241—243.

[2] 'Since the arrests made here by the Emperor, all the inhabitants of this town . . . shrink at it, fearing the utter decay of their traffic. Great numbers of fullers, shearmen, dyers, and others thought their livings were utterly bereaved from them. . . It hath made many to confess to me that it were better for this country to have twenty years' war with France than one with England.'—Vaughan to the Privy Council: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 257.

The case was a difficult one. It was agreed on both sides that 'munitions of war' were liable to seizure; but were provisions landed upon a coast where an army was in the field comprehended under that designation? Moreover, among the cargoes there were goods definitely the property of French owners. Could an enemy trade securely under a neutral flag? Henry, in default of a public law to guide him, had directed that goods which could be proved to be French should be retained as a lawful prize; that the provisions should be sold in England, and the price should be paid over to the Flemish owners; that the ships, with their remaining contents, should at once be restored.[1] There was a common-sense propriety in this decision which Charles ought to have recognized; but he chose to have a verdict more absolute in his subjects' favour. To supply food to a fleet or camp might be illicit, he said, but not to send it into a district where it might possibly be taken up by military or naval contractors. The sale in England did not satisfy him, because in France the scarcity created by the war had enhanced prices enormously, while across the Channel they were at their ordinary level. He insisted on complete redress; and, until it was conceded, he declared his fixed intention of maintaining the arrests.

Prudence obliged the King to disguise his displeasure. He wrote to the Emperor, saying that 'he was much grieved by his strange and unkind demeanour.'

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[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 245, &c.

The privy council instructed Wotton to add that, if the English ships, with their crews and owners, were detained, they could not suppose that the alleged cause was the real cause. 'You shall pray them to be plain,' the letter ran, 'and dissimulate the matter no longer; for their plain dealing his Majesty will accept, in some part of friendship.' The Venetians complained that the Emperor had betrayed them; the French, 'in times past,' declared that his word was not to be relied upon; the Germans did not trust him; and his conduct had even perplexed the Pope. For themselves, 'they hoped that there would be no new cause invented to make a quarrel with England;' 'whereunto,' they added, 'his Majesty considers whosoever would go about to provoke the Emperor, regarding only the present visage of things, should, if he cast his eye to the sequel, hereafter see more hurt than benefit ensue, both to the Emperor and also to his posterity.'[1]

Wotton gave the message; but it bore no fruits. The Emperor was courteous in manner; but he refused to explain himself or recall his edict. He would not say that he required his subjects to be allowed unrestricted liberty of trade; he would not say that he did not. He was simply obstinate and immoveable, as if he desired a rupture, and meant to compel the English to commence.

In the presence of the new danger the negotiations with the Germans were not allowed to languish. On the

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 271, &c.

12th of February the King directed his agents to repair to the Landgrave, and warn him of the evident combination of the Catholic powers, and the necessity of a rapid combination to oppose them. The best and only enduring security would be a general league among the anti-Papal powers, cemented by common articles of belief. But circumstances were pressing, and such a league would be a work of time. In the interval, the Landgrave, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Holstein, the free towns, and himself might unite in a political combination, offensive and defensive. When this preliminary measure was effected, commissioners might meet with despatch and secrecy, and draw the terms of the larger confederacy. The minor difficulties which had caused a first failure need not occasion a second. As he had before urged, they had one common enemy, the Pope—one common object, the abolition of idolatry, the spread of the knowledge of the Bible, and the glory of God. With so broad a foundation of amity, disputes on the details of doctrine might surely be composed, 'either party,' as he once more said, 'relenting from extremities, and framing themselves to a godly indifferency and moderation.'[1] Feb. 12.

The advances having been commenced by the Landgrave, the prospect of success appeared to be favourable; but the Landgrave would take no positive step without the advice and consent of the Elector; and the Elector, the brother-in-law of the Duke of Cleves, could not

[1] Instructions by the King's Majesty to Beauclerk and Mont: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 278

bring himself to regard Henry with anything but incurable dislike. He had yielded twice to the apparent necessity of union; once in 1538, when the Lutheran divines visited England; again when the marriage with a Protestant princess promised a renewal of cordiality. On each of these occasions the result had been a failure, for which England was more in fault than Germany; and the second disappointment had been accompanied with scandal and affront. To another effort he may not be censured for having refused to consent. He closed his eyes to the obvious intentions of the Emperor. He could pardon him his treachery to England while he believed him faithful to his promises to the Diet; and, although the more far-seeing among the Lutheran statesmen deplored his unseasonable prejudice,[1] they could prevail only so far as to prevent an absolute rejection of the English offers, and to postpone a final answer till their approaching assembly at Worms.

England was thus left to her own strength. It was well that she would not be taken unprepared. The abbey lands had been melted into cannon; the swords and lances stood ready in the castle halls; the longbow leant against the wall of the peasant's cottage and the sheaf of arrows hung above the chimney. Charles, if he so pleased, might use his opportunity; and it might prove less favourable than his hopes represented it. At

[1] 'A quo ejus intempestivissimo præjudicio multos optimos viros diversissimum sentire scio. Maxime cum modo Romanus episcopus contra utrosque calamum stringat, sæviat, et convitia expuat.'—Mont to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 288.

all events, Henry would not tolerate the injuries of English subjects; the Emperor had sent no answer to his letter, and Wotton could not discover his intentions; the task of dealing with him was entrusted to the dexterous and fearless Paget; and the King with his own hand instructed the ambassador in the terms which he was to use in detailing the injuries of which England complained. 'If the Emperor,' he continued, 'shall still fodder us forth with fair words, keeping, nevertheless, the goods under arrest, we cannot think that he dealeth friendly with us, but rather that he intendeth to break; which if he mind to do—well—we must bear it as we may. God, that hath known our meaning since our entry into the treaty, will judge between us and him, and give us force to withstand the malice of all our enemies. At the least, if he will needs break, you shall require him to deal with us like a prince of honour, and to give order, as we will for our part, that the subjects on both parts may have a reasonable time to depart with their goods, as hath always been accustomed between princes in semblable cases. We trust he will not be found faulty in that point, that not long ago he laid to other men's charge. When the French King, contrary to his saying that he intended no such thing, suddenly brake with him, he blamed his honour much, which mote, we trust, our good brother will eschew.'[1]

Paget as little as any one understood the Emperor's conduct; but he was the person most likely to discover

[1] Instructions by the King's Majesty to Sir William Paget: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 295, &c.

the meaning of it. If ordinary inquiry was baffled, he possessed an art of high-bred insolence, which generally exasperated the best-trained dissemblers into momentary openness. Charles knew him well; and if he had chosen a minister from the English council whom he would have desired not to receive, it was Sir William Paget. He could not refuse him an audience, however, and the conversation commenced with the secretary playing over as a prelude the articles of the treaty with England, and of the Peace of Crêpy. The Emperor, as usual, attempted to 'scold the matter out.' Paget alluded to the contingent under Sir John Wallop, which had been sent to the Netherlands in 1543, and then spoke of the attack on Guisnes, the analogous request which had been made for assistance, and the refusal.

'The French King,' he said, 'invading any one of you, is enemy to both by the treaty. Your Majesty cannot avoid that.'

The Emperor 'was put to the bay;' he 'began to study.' 'You press me with the treaty,' he presently said, 'and you tell me you had respect to my necessity. It was your not going forward according to your treaty that drove me to do as I did.'

The agreement, Paget replied, was *selon la raison de la guerre*, as the Emperor well knew. Both armies had, in fact, acted in the same manner; neither could go forward, leaving fortified towns in their rear.

'Well,' Charles said, 'I know by the treaty what he should have done.'

'And so do I,' said Paget, 'for I was at the making

of the treaty, and, by your favour, Sire, I know the meaning of all them that were at the making of it.'

'And I understand French,' rejoined Charles, 'as well as another; and there is no more in this matter but I and my council interpret the treaty one way, and the King my brother interprets it in another way.'

'The treaty,' the ambassador answered, 'is plain enough, and should have none other interpretation than the words bear. You may take it as it shall please you, and there is no other judge between you two but honour here and God above.'

He waived the hopeless dispute, and turned to the arrest. What was the meaning of it? he asked. What could 'the French, their mortal enemies,' do worse? Sharp words passed and repassed. The Emperor equivocated: he spoke of merchandise, as well as provisions, captured and appropriated. Paget had his proofs ready that the merchandise which had been detained belonged to French owners; that the ships and their other contents had been restored. Charles said he did not know that there had been a restitution. The English minister assured him quietly that he had forgotten himself, since he had seen with his own eyes a letter from the Spanish ambassador to the Emperor, in which the fact was explicitly mentioned. Again Charles shifted his ground. 'There must be satisfaction for the future,' he said; he must have security that his subjects should not be molested any more in their trade with France.

'In France, Sire,' Paget replied, 'your subjects may

sell nothing, nor yet have any traffic thither, if you do according to your treaty, which, if it shall like you to observe, then the point you speak of is provided. Either there is a treaty or there is none. If there is none, it is another matter; if there is, let it be observed.'

'Keep the treaty!' the Emperor cried. 'I would other men had kept it with me as I have kept it with them, and then this needed not to have been. My good brother looketh to be superior over me in all things, and that I may not endure. It is not for mine honour. He began first with me, or else it should have been long ere I should have begun with him. I would be glad to do him all the friendship and pleasure that I could, and to have his love and friendship. I have been glad to seek it almost on my knees.'

He began to complain of his gout, and desired the discussion to be brought to an end. 'I conclude, then,' Paget said, 'that I am to take for an answer that, until everything is done in England which your subjects require, every demand paid, reasonable and unreasonable, and an order taken that your subjects may traffic with France at their liberty, you intend to keep the English merchants prisoners, and their property under arrest.'

The word 'prisoners' sounded harshly. The Emperor winced a little, and muttered that the arrest of 'the persons' might have been hasty, and his council would see about it. More he could not say, nor at the moment would his illness allow him. He rose, and left the room.[1]

[1] I have been obliged to abridge the conversation and condense the sentences.

So closed the first interview, which Paget said he 'liked never a deal.' The merchants would probably be allowed to depart. Their property, he had ascertained, was not more than equal to the aggregate debts of the English residents in the Low Countries; so that, except in the stoppage of their trade, they would not seriously suffer; but as to his ulterior object, Charles had baffled him.[1]

A week later, M. Scory, president of the Flemish council, furnished some clue. They had heard, he said, that the English people were so exasperated by the Peace of Crêpy, and the King spoke so indignantly of the Emperor, that when the ships which were going to France were seized they expected England would declare war against them, and they made the arrest 'to be sure of a good pawn.'[2] 'You may see,' Paget said, in reply, 'what an evil conscience doth; there was no such thing meant on our behalf.' But he felt that there was a mystery below which he had not penetrated; and Charles, it is more than likely, was waiting for the result of the war, and was fomenting a dispute which could be converted into a quarrel, if England should materially suffer in the approaching struggle. March passed on. The ships were not released; but no further act of hostility was committed. The English residents were allowed to leave the country; and to Paget himself the Imperial ministers remained outwardly smooth, profuse in soft words, insisting that the Emperor wished nothing but good to Henry;

March.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 310, &c.

[2] Ibid. p. 336.

that he would mediate with France; that, if his mediation was not accepted, he would even threaten to re-open the war, provided it was understood by England that the threat would not be acted on.[1] But this was not reassuring. He felt that he was resting on a field of treacherous ice; and in a mood of characteristic melancholy he poured out his feelings in cipher to his friend Sir William Petre:—

'What care they if what they do make for their purpose? All is one. *Nusquam tuta fides.* Dissimulation, vanity, flattery, unshamefastness reign most here, and with the same they must be rencontred. There is no remedy as the world goeth now. Surely, Master Petre, you will not believe how this their proceeding with the King's Majesty grieveth me. But what remedy! By my troth none, but wink at it for the time, and dissemble. I intend, if I can, to speak with the Emperor, with whom I intend, with just consideration of the persons both of him and the King's Majesty, to tell so plain a tale as peradventure was never told him, and yet so

[1] 'Mistrust not the Emperor,' President Scory said to Paget, 'for, whatever we say unto you, the Emperor intendeth to use all the means he can to bring them to a conformity, and to tell them that you will call upon us for the declaration of war, and that we cannot avoid it, and that they must come to reason; or else we must needs declare ourselves, for we must needs keep our promises unto you.' 'Marry,' quoth I, 'this will be a good tale and a true, and if they will not come to reason, the best part of the tale is to declare indeed.' 'Nay,' quoth he, and laughed, 'there shall be nothing left unsaid that may further the matter.' 'Nor undone?' quoth I. 'I wot what you mean,' quoth he; 'but as for that, however we intend for the advancement of your affairs to use that matter in our conferences with them, yet I pray you molest us not withal.'—Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 364.

reverently as he shall think I mind but to tell the truth to him. I am weary of being here; and I wish, without the offence of his Majesty, that I had never come hither.'[1]

In the particular occasion of dispute, since the Emperor was obstinate, Henry partially gave way. The condition for the release was the concession of liberty of traffic of all kinds between the ports of France and the Netherlands; and the King, stipulating only that ships belonging to the Low Countries entering French harbours should not be appropriated for purposes of war, consented, till a joint commission should have discussed and settled the general question. The necessary edicts were then issued, the English trade was renewed, and Charles again affected to be anxious for the success of 'his allies' in the war. April 6.

While this angry interlude was in progress, the German Diet was opened by Ferdinand at Worms; and simultaneously the cardinals began to assemble at Trent. The council so long talked of, so loudly clamoured for, so angrily deprecated, to which for years Western Christendom had been looking with hope or fear, was at last to become a fact. The dream had lingered long of a free assembly, summoned by the princes, as the exponent of the intellect of Europe. The Germans, duped by the Edicts of Speyer, had persevered, in spite of warnings from England, in nourishing the pleasant vision; and now the thing which they had so perti-

[1] Paget to Petre: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 376.

naciously demanded was come. From the opening-speech of the King of the Romans the Diet learnt, for the first time, that the religious differences of Europe would be referred to a synod of bishops, who were assembling at the invitation of the Holy Father of Christendom; and Luther, in bitter scorn, sketched before their dull eyes the image of their infatuation.[1] The King of England, whose refusal to recognize any council called in the name of the Pope, had long been intimated, saw only his anticipations confirmed, and was prepared to deal substantially with the contingency.

Among the strange phenomena of the times none is more remarkable than the popularity of Henry VIII. among the younger Italians. The closer the acquaintance with the Papacy, the greater was the respect for the prince who had dared to take the spectre by the throat; so deeply the feeling had penetrated, that Paul found it prudent to assist Francis in the war with money

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[1] He published a caricature, the description of which must be conveyed in another language: 'Le Pape revêtu de ses ornemens y paroissoit assis sur une truye fort large, et dont les mammelles étoient fort amples qu'il piquoit à coup d'éperons. Il donnoit en même temps sa bénédiction à tous ceux qu'il rencontroit avec les deux doigts de la maine droite étendus selon la coutume; et de la gauche il tenait un excrément frais et tout fumant. A l'odeur de cette ordure la truye tournoit sa tête et tâchoit de saisir la proye de ses narines et de son grouin; le Pape pour se moquer d'elle la piquant durement. Il faut, lui disoit-il, que tu me souffres sur ton dos, et que tu sentes les éperons quoique ce soit malgré toi; tu m'as déjà donné assez de chagrin au sujet de concile où tu veux me conduire pour m'y accuser librement; voilà ce concile que tu demandes si instamment. Par la truye Luther vouloit désigner l'Allemagne.' — SLEIDAN, vol. ii. p. 260. Traduit en François par Pierre de Courrayer.

rather than men, lest the contingent which he had promised should desert to the English;[1] and Henry, though pressed on so many sides, found leisure to avail himself of the goodwill of his friends in their own country. Ludovico de l'Armi, a Venetian nobleman, raised a corps of free-lances for the English service, who, hovering on the skirts of the territory of the Republic, fluttered the dovecotes of the right-reverend legislators. Reginald Pole, in mere terror of being clutched and carried off to England, durst not adventure to join them till the Pope applied to De l'Armi for a passport. The passport was refused; he was forced to steal to the meeting-place of the cardinals in disguise;[2] and even when arrived within the walls of Trent, he was still insecure, and lived only 'in incredible and continual fear.'[3]

The Germans, too, were stirred by the announcement of Ferdinand into unusual vitality. The Diet replied to his address with a protest which was doubtfully received; and the Landgrave, released for the moment from the influence of the Elector, once more consulted the English agents. He told them that, if the King continued to wish for the league, he would do his best to 'travel in it;' and, 'wishing only that he had done so when they were last with him,' they undertook to

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[1] Harvel to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 492. During the siege of Boulogne by the French, the Italians in the pay of Francis actually did desert to the English in twenties and thirties.—Ibid. p. 569, &c.

[2] *State Papers*, vol. x. pp. 367, 368, 399, 400.

[3] Ibid. p. 453.

May. re-open the negotiations.[1] The Landgrave consulted the representatives of the other Protestant States; and if the undisguised exultation of the Romanists could have assisted them to a resolution, the alliance would rapidly have been concluded. The Emperor appeared at the Diet in the beginning of May, accompanied by Cardinal Farnese. Events were not yet in train for a demonstration of open hostility to the Reformation, and he attempted to resume his usual plausible disguise; when a hot Franciscan, the Sunday after his arrival, betrayed the truth in an impatient sermon. Charles, Ferdinand, Farnese, and Granvelle were present in the church. The preacher, after sketching the character of the Lutherans with the diabolical features ascribed to them in the orthodox imagination, wound up with a passionate peroration urging their destruction. 'Now, O Emperor!' he exclaimed, directly addressing Charles, 'now is the time to fulfil your duty; enough of trifling, enough of loitering on the way; long ago you should have done the work: God has blessed you with power; He has raised you on high to be the defender of his Church. Up, then! Call out your armies! Smite and destroy the accursed generation; it is a crime to endure longer these venomous wretches crawling in the sunshine, and venting their poison over all things. Say not that you will do it hereafter; now is the time, do it now; each day new thousands of souls are in peril of damnation through the

[1] Beauclerk and Mont to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. x. pp. 422, 423.

madness of these men, and of you the account will be demanded.'[1]

Since the preacher was neither arrested nor punished, the reality of danger penetrated the densest understanding. Farnese, in fear of being murdered, stole away on a stormy night, disguised as a servant; and the Landgrave became more eager and energetic than ever. But his efforts, unhappily, were still in vain; the Elector continued obstinate; the majority of the Smalcaldic League—considering, not without truth, that Henry had only sought their friendship hitherto when despairing of the Emperor—had accustomed themselves to look for support, if Charles should attack them, rather to France than to England. The preference, in fact, was not confined to the princes, but extended to the people. Both Francis and Henry desired to recruit among the Lanzknechts for the war. Francis was embarrassed by the numbers who offered him their services, and his German legions were among the most faithful of his troops. Henry found only false promises, broken engagements, mutiny, and desertion.

Thus, between the soothing duplicity of the Emperor and a false reliance upon France, the German Protestants allowed the scheme to die away into an offer to be mediators in a peace, and into conditions of alliance to which Henry could not listen. After two months' deliberation, they replied that they could pledge themselves to nothing. It was possible only that they might

[1] Sleidan.

consider the King of England's offers, if he on his side would bind himself to assist them, should they be attacked on a pretext of religion, and would deposit 200,000 crowns as caution-money with the senate of Hamburg, which, in case of necessity, they might appropriate.[1] Two years later the princes of the League could better estimate the relative importance of the alliance to England and to themselves.

In fact, perhaps, the attitude of all the powers, Catholic or Protestant, in Europe towards this country depended on the issue of the struggle which the opening summer would bring with it. France was known to be straining every nerve to bring her old rival on her knees. Men, ships, and money were collected with unheard-of profusion; and the French themselves were so confident of success, that other nations shared inevitably, to some extent, the same expectations. The siege of Boulogne had not been pressed. The intention was to collect a fleet so large as absolutely to command the Channel. The occupation of the Isle of Wight—a more feasible enterprise than the march on London—would be the prelude of an attack on Portsmouth and the destruction of the fleet; and in the same stroke which crippled their naval power, the English would lose not Boulogne only, but their last hold upon the French soil. Montgomery, with five thousand men, was sent into Scotland to defend the Borders. The whole available strength of France remaining was collected at the mouth of the Seine. A hundred and fifty

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 554.

ships of war and twenty-five galleys, which had dared the dangers of the Bay of Biscay, and had come round from Marseilles, were to form the convoy of sixty transports and sixty thousand men. William the Norman had brought as large a force with him, but his fleet was nothing. The Spanish Armada was as powerful on the sea, but the troops intended for land-service scarce amounted to half the army of Francis. The aim of the expedition was successfully concealed. Rumour pointed alternately to Scotland or the western counties, to Kent or Sussex, to the Humber, the Thames, or the Solent; and the English Government, to be prepared on all sides, had a hundred and twenty thousand men in the field throughout the summer. Thirty thousand, under Hertford, guarded the Marches of Northumberland; the Duke of Norfolk in Lincolnshire and Suffolk, Lord Russell in the West, were each in command of an equal force; while the Duke of Suffolk, with the fourth division, held Sussex, Kent, and Hampshire, and was prepared, if necessary, to cross the Channel.[1] The garrisons at Calais, Guisnes, and Boulogne were, at the lowest, fifteen thousand strong. The new fortresses along the coasts were largely manned. The number of English soldiers in receipt of pay fell scarcely short of a hundred and forty thousand, in addition to German contingents perpetually raised and perpetually useless, and the small but effective company of Italians under De l'Armi.

June.

On the sea, also, the returns were tolerably satisfac-

[1] Paget to Petre: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 468.

tory. The ships, indeed, in commission, belonging to the Crown, did not exceed sixty; but several were larger than the largest of the French, and all were more efficiently manned. The 'Great Harry,' a ship of a thousand tons, with a crew of seven hundred, carried Lord Lisle's flag. The 'Venetian,' with the flag of Sir Peter Carew, was seven hundred tons; her crew four hundred and fifty. The rest were rather smaller, although they passed at the time as vessels of first-class power. In collective force, nevertheless, the enemy had the advantage. The whole number of sailors in the fleet at the beginning of June amounted only to twelve thousand.[1]

The royal squadron, however, properly so called, formed but a small part of the naval strength of England. The sea-going population had not thought it necessary to discontinue their ordinary occupations; the Iceland and Ireland fishing-fleets sailed as usual in May; but there remained a number of vessels, of various sizes, belonging to Falmouth, Truro, Fowey, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Dittisham, Totness, Poole, Rye, Bristol, and other places, which through the winter had been out as privateers; and, having gorged themselves with plunder, were called in, as the time of danger approached, to join the lord admiral at Spithead. The two services had absorbed between them the effective male inhabitants of the coast towns. There was a fear that the home fisheries would be neglected, and an important item in the

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 468.

food of the people might fall short. But this anxiety was found unnecessary. The wives and daughters of the absent sailors along the western shores, the mothers of the hardy generation who sailed with Drake round the world, and explored with Davis the Polar Ocean, undertook this portion of their husbands' labours. 'The women of the fishers' towns,' wrote Lord Russell,[1] 'eight or nine of them, with but one boy or one man with them, adventure to sail a-fishing sixteen or twenty miles to sea, and are sometimes chased home by the Frenchmen.'

A greater difficulty was occasioned by the multitude of prisoners who had been brought in by the privateers, and could neither be efficiently kept, for want of men to guard them, nor could be allowed to escape without danger. Minor perils, however, could and must be overlooked. The whole serviceable fleet remaining in the English waters was collected by the end of June at Portsmouth—in all a hundred sail and sixteen thousand hands.

In England itself party animosities were for the time forgotten. The counties vied with each other in demonstrations of loyalty. The Duke of Norfolk, after a general survey of England, reported that 'he found both gentlemen and all others very well minded to resist the enemy if they should land—the most part saying, 'My lord, if they come, for God's sake bring us between the sea and them.'' [2] The martial ardour had even pene-

[1] Lord Russell to the Council: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 828.

[2] *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xvi. The MSS. in this

trated to the highest places of the order who were generally exempt from military service: the Archbishop of Canterbury desired to have a battery of light artillery placed at his disposal for the defence of the coast of Kent.[1] But the best blood of England, if we may judge by the list of names, was seeking in preference the more novel glory which might be earned in the fleet. Berkeleys, Carews, Courtenays, St Clairs, Chichesters, Clintons, Cheyneys, Russells, Dudleys, Seymours, Willoughbys, Tyrrells, Stukeleys, were either in command of the King's ships or of privateers equipped by themselves. For the first time in her history England possessed a navy which deserved the name; and in the motley crowd of vessels which covered the anchorage at Spithead, was the germ of the power which in time was to rule the seas.[2]

The westerly gales, which had continued into the summer, delayed the opening of active operations. One only enterprise was projected by Lord Lisle in an interval of fair weather: he proposed to convert thirty merchantmen, which had been brought to the Downs as prizes, into fire-ships, and to send them in with the tide upon the enemy's anchorage at Havre.[3] The prizes

volume are the principal English authorities for the events of the summer.

[1] 'My Lord of Canterbury, having required certain pieces of artillery to be drawn to and from sundry places upon the cliffs with horses, at the charge of the country, for the repelling of the enemy, shall be furnished of the same, if Mr Seymour, upon view of the place, shall think it convenient.'—Note of the State of the Realm: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 786.

[2] The watchword at night was perhaps the origin of the 'National Anthem.' The challenge was 'God save the King.' The answer was, 'Long to reign over us.'—Ibid p. 814.

[3] *MS. State Paper Office.*

designed for this purpose escaped in a storm; but Lisle, not choosing to be disappointed, sailed without them, and ventured himself into the Seine, within shot of the French. The galleys came out to skirmish, but the weather became again dangerous; and the admiral, as much in fear of a lee shore as of the enemy, returned to Portsmouth.

July. At last with July came the summer, bringing with it its calms and heat; and the great armament, commanded by D'Annebault in person, sailed for England. A few straggling ships, in search of plunder, or to mislead the English, made a first attempt to effect a landing at Brighton; but the beacons were fired, the country rose; and the few companies who were on shore were driven back before they had effected more than trifling injury.[1] The main body, which they soon rejoined, had held their course direct to the Solent.

July 18. The King was at Portsmouth, having gone down to review the fleet, when, on the 18th of July, two hundred sail were reported at the back of the Isle of Wight. The entire force of the enemy, which had been collected, had been safely transported across the Channel. With boats feeling the way in front with sounding-lines, they rounded St Helen's Point, and took up their position in a line which extended from Brading Harbour almost to Ryde. In the light evening breeze, fourteen English ships stood across to recon-

[1] A beautifully-finished drawing of the French galleys on the beach under Brighton is in the Cotton Library.

noitre; D'Annebault came to meet them with the galleys, and there was some distant firing; but there was no intention of an engagement on either side. The English withdrew, and night closed in.

July 19. The morning which followed was breathlessly calm. Lisle's fleet lay all inside in the Spit, the heavy sails hanging motionless on the yards, the smoke from the chimneys of the cottages on shore rising in blue columns straight up into the air. It was a morning beautiful with the beauty of an English summer and an English sea. But for the work before him, Lord Lisle would have gladly heard the west wind whistling among his shrouds; at this time he had not a galley to oppose to the five-and-twenty which D'Annebault had brought with him; and in such weather the galleys had all the advantages of the modern gunboats. From the single long gun which each of them carried in the bow they poured shot for an hour into the tall stationary hulls of the line-of-battle ships; and keeping in constant motion, they were themselves in perfect security. According to the French account of the action, the 'Great Harry' suffered so severely as almost to be sunk at her anchorage; and had the calm continued, they believed that they could have destroyed the entire fleet. As the morning drew on, however, the off-shore breeze sprung up suddenly; the large ships began to glide through the water; a number of frigates—long, narrow vessels—so swift, the French said, that they could outsail their fastest shallops—came out with 'incredible

swiftness;'[1] and the fortune of the day was changed. The enemy were afraid to turn, lest they should be run over; if they attempted to escape into the wind, they would be cut off from their own fleet. The main line advanced barely in time to save them; and the English, whose object was to draw the enemy into action under the guns of their own fortresses and among the shoals at the Spit, retired to their old ground. The loss on both sides had been insignificant; but the occasion was rendered memorable by a misfortune. The 'Mary Rose,' a ship of six hundred tons, and one of the finest in the navy, was among the vessels engaged with the galleys. She was commanded by Sir George Carew, and manned with a crew who were said, all of them, to be fitter, in their own conceit, to order than obey, and to be incompetent for ordinary work. The ports were open for action, the guns were run out, and, in consequence of the calm, had been imperfectly secured. The breeze rising suddenly, and the vessel heeling slightly over, the windward tier slipped across the deck, and, as she yielded further to the weight, the lee ports were depressed below the water-line, the ship instantly filled, and carried down with her every soul who was on board.[2]

[1] The action is related with great minuteness in Du Bellay's *Memoirs*.

[2] The French believed, not unnaturally, that the 'Mary Rose' sank from the effect of their shot. But the cause of the accident was ascertained beyond all doubt.—See *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 794. There are also several letters, by eye-witnesses, in MS. in the State Paper Office on the subject. The hull has been recently broken up, and some of the guns have been recovered. A good account of the loss may be bought at Portsmouth,

Almost at the same moment the French treasure-ship, 'La Maîtresse,' was also reported to be sinking. She had been strained at sea, and the shock of her own cannon completed the mischief. There was but just time to save her crew and remove the money chest, when she too was disabled. She was towed to the mouth of Brading Harbour and left on the shore.

These inglorious casualties were a feeble result of the meeting of the two largest navies which had encountered each other for centuries. The day had as yet lost but a few hours, and D'Annebault hearing that the King was a spectator of the scene, believed that he might taunt him out of his caution by landing troops in the island. The sight of the enemy taking possession of English territory, and the blaze of English villages, scarcely two cannon-shot distance from him, would provoke his patience, and the fleet would again advance.[1] Detachments were set on shore at three different points, which in Du Bellay's description are not easy to recognize. Pierre Strozzi, an Italian, attacked a fort, perhaps near Sea View, which had annoyed the galleys in the morning. The garrison abandoned it as he approached, and it was destroyed. M. de Thais, landing without resistance, advanced into the island to reconnoitre. He went forward till he had entangled his party in a glen surrounded by thickets; and here he was checked by a shower of arrows from invisible hands.

composed chiefly of extracts from the *State Papers*, and bound with oak covers made from the timbers of the ship.

[1] Du Bellay.

The English, few in number, but on their own ground hovered about him, giving way when they were attacked, but hanging on his skirts, and pouring death into his ranks from their silent bows, till prudence warned him to withdraw to the open sands. The third detachment was the most considerable; it was composed of picked men, and was led by two of the most distinguished commanders of the galleys. These must have landed close to Bembridge. They were no sooner on shore than they were charged by a body of cavalry. There was sharp fighting; and the soldiers in the nearest ships, excited at the spectacle of the skirmish and the rattle of the carbines, became unmanageable, seized the boats, and went off, without their officers, to join. The English being now out-numbered, withdrew; the French straggled after them in loose order, till they came out upon the downs sloping up towards the Culver Cliffs; and here, being scattered in twos and threes, they were again charged with fatal effect. Many were cut in pieces; the rest fled, the English pursuing and sabreing them down to the shore; and but few would have escaped, but that the disaster was perceived from the fleet; large masses of men were sent in, under shelter of the guns, to relieve the fugitives; and the English, being badly pressed in return, drew off, still fighting as they retreated, till they reached a stream,[1] which they crossed, and broke the bridge behind them.

It was by this time evening; and the day had pro-

[1] The brook at the head of Brading Harbour probably. Du Bellay evidently wrote from the account of persons who were present.

duced little except remarkable evidence of incapacity in the French commanders. In the morning a council of war was held. The English fleet, to avoid exposing themselves a second time to the attacks of the galleys, had withdrawn into the harbour or under the shore; and D'Annebault, confident in numbers and French daring, proposed, since they would not venture out, to go in and attack them where they lay, and, if possible, carry Portsmouth. The crews, brave as lions, desired nothing better. The pilots, when consulted, declared the enterprise impracticable. In order to reach the enemy, they would have to advance up a channel which only four ships could pass abreast. They must take the flow of the tide; and the current was so violent that, if any misadventure befell the first which entered, the whole line would nevertheless be obliged to follow, and they would all be crushed together in confusion. The admiral disbelieved in difficulties. He thought they might anchor and bombard the town. But their cables, the pilots declared, would not be strong enough to bring them up, at the rate at which they would be going; or they might be cut; or the eddies, perpetually shifting the position of the ships, would lay them open to be swept by the English batteries. Imagining that the reluctance might arise from cowardice, D'Annebault, as soon as night fell, sent in boats with muffled oars, to try the soundings and measure the passage into the harbour. They returned with more than a confirmation of the unfavourable reports. A single ship, they stated, could

July 20.

only enter in experienced hands; and they had found the approaches so full of shoals and hidden sand-bars, that, for a fleet to advance in the face of an enemy was, as the pilots said, an impossibility.

It remained, therefore, to decide whether the army should land in force upon the island, and drive the English out of it, as they might easily do. They had brought with them seven thousand pioneers, who could throw up fortresses rapidly at Newport, Cowes, St Helen's, and elsewhere; and they could leave garrisons strong enough to maintain their ground against any force which the English would be able to bring against them. They would thus hold in their hands a security for Boulogne; and as the English did not dare to face their fleet in the open water, they might convert their tenure into a permanence.

This was the course which they were intended to pursue; and it was the course which, in the opinion of Du Bellay, one of the ablest generals in France, they indisputably ought to have pursued. In neglecting it he considered that an opportunity was wasted, the loss of which his confidence in Providence and in the destinies of France alone enabled him to forgive.

D'Annebault, however, had received discretionary powers; and, for some unknown reason, he determined to try his fortune elsewhere. After three days of barren demonstration, the fleet weighed anchor and sailed. His misfortunes in the Isle of Wight were not yet over. The ships were in want of fresh water; and on leaving St Helen's he went round into Shanklin

July 21. Bay, where he sent his boats to fill their casks at the rivulet which runs down the Chine. The stream was small, the task was tedious, and the Chevalier d'Eulx, who, with a few companies, was appointed to guard the watering parties, seeing no signs of danger, wandered inland, attended by some of his men, to the top of the high down adjoining. The English, who had been engaged with the other detachments two days before, had kept on the hills, watching the motions of the fleet. The Chevalier was caught in an ambuscade, and, after defending himself like a hero, he was killed, with most of his followers.[1] Persecuted by small misadventures, the fleet now dropped across the opening of the Solent; the weather threatened to change; there were signs of a wind from the westward; but, uncertain of their movements, they lay for two nights between Selsea Bill and the mouth of Chichester harbour.

It was now Lord Lisle's turn to act on the offensive. In calms and light airs the French galleys had an advantage over him; in a strong breeze the galleys were useless; and the massive and ably-manned English ships might compensate, with their size and the weight of metal which they carried, for their inferiority in numbers. The enemy was anchored on a lee shore. The same evening the English admiral sent in a boat from the 'Great Harry,' with the following note to the King:—

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[1] DU BELLAY'S *Memoirs.*

'It may please your Highness to understand that I do perceive, by my Lord of Surrey, it is your Majesty's pleasure that I should declare unto you by writing the effect of a certain purpose which, by occasion of a little gale of wind that we had for a while yesternight, came in my mind, which is after this sort :—In case the same gale of wind had grown to be stable, being then at plank west, and had blown to a course and a bonnet off (which were the terms that I examined the masters by), whether then the French fleet were able to ride it out in that place where they lie; and they said, very well, they ought to do it. And then I asked whether, if they saw or perceived us to come under sail, making towards them, whether they would bide us at anchor or not? and they said, if they did bide us at anchor, they were cast away; for we, coming with a fair wind, should bear over whom we listed into the sea; and therefore they would not bide that adventure, but rather would come under their small sail, to abide us loose, for that were their most advantage. I asked, if they were once loose and put from their anchors with that strainable wind, whether they could seize any part of the Wight again. And they said, it was not possible for them to do it, but of force must go room with the high seas, and much ado to escape a danger called the Owers; and that some of them of likelihood should rest there, if such a wind should come and they were put from their anchors. So thought I, and said then to my Lord of Surrey, that these Frenchmen which be here, if they land, they may happen to find such a blast

that they should never see their own country again.

'This is the effect of this purpose serving to none other end but if such a wind should chance, this, I doubt not, would follow, if it shall like your Highness that we endeavour us to the same. Wherein neither in no other enterprise, being never so feasible, I will not attempt, your Majesty being so near, without first making your Majesty privy thereunto; and not without your Grace's consent thereunto; albeit that I would not, for mine own part, little pass to shed the best blood in my body to remove them out of your sight. But have your Grace no doubt of any hasty or unadvised presumptuous enterprise that I shall make, having charge of so weighty a matter under your Majesty, without being first well instructed from your Highness; for if I have any knowledge in any kind of thing, I have received the same from yourself. In the 'Harry Grace a Dieu,' 21st of July, at eight o'clock in the evening. Your Majesty's faithful servant to command,

July 21.

'JOHN LISLE.'[1]

If Lisle's project had been executed, the mutilated action in the Solent would have been followed by an engagement which would have satisfied the most sanguinary expectations, and the question of the sovereignty of the Channel would have required no further settlement. The King consented to the risk. The night following the wind blew up from the

July 22.

[1] HAINES' *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 51.

south-west, and the fleet was preparing to start; but the distance was short; a Flemish spy carried news of his danger to D'Annebault, and the admiral at once slipped from his anchorage, and made off into the open sea.[1] He crossed the Channel to Boulogne, where the French had by this time an army of twenty thousand men, and, landing his pioneers, he returned to the English coast with his vessels less inconveniently crowded. A desultory attack on Seaford was his next effort. A landing was effected, and the village was pillaged and set on fire; but, in an over-confidence that the country was unguarded, the French remained too long. The hardy Sussex volunteers were brought down upon them in swarms by the smoke of the conflagration. Every wall and hedge became alive with armed men, the boats were destroyed at the piers, and but a small fraction of the invaders recovered the fleet.[2] Encouraged by these successive failures, Lisle now ventured out into the Channel to cover the transport of troops to Calais. The hot weather had returned; August brought with it its light easterly winds and calms; and, if we may judge by the constantly recurring com-

August.

[1] Du Bellay's *Memoirs*. It is not often that in the independent records of two countries, we find separate portions of the same story which fit so accurately as Du Bellay's narrative and the letter of Lord Lisle.

[2] There is a difficulty in fixing the day of the failure at Seaford; Du Bellay relates it as if it followed immediately on the departure from the Isle of Wight. But there may have been some other attempt elsewhere, or he may have mistaken the exact order of events.—See Hall, Holinshed, and a letter among the *MSS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xvi. On the 30th of July D'Annebault was at Boulogne. —*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 795, note.

plaints in the correspondence, it was sultry beyond the ordinary heat of an English summer. The beer which was supplied for the fleet turned acid; fresh meat would not keep for two days. The English admiral was obliged to hang along the shore, where boats passing to and fro continually could furnish a succession of supplies. After a fortnight of ineffectual cruising, the two fleets, on the morning of the 15th, were in sight of each other off Shoreham. The light air which was stirring came in from the sea. The French were outside, and stretched for five miles along the offing. Having the advantage of the wind, they could force an engagement if they pleased, and Lisle hourly expected that they would bear down upon him. The galleys came out as before; but the English were better provided than at Spithead. They had several large galliasses, and 'shallops with oars;' one of the former commanded by Captain Tyrrell, of four hundred and fifty tons, as swift as those of the enemy, and more heavily armed. An indecisive battle lasted till the evening, when the French retreated behind their larger ships, and by that time the whole line had drifted down within a league of the English. Lisle cast anchor, to show that he was ready for them if they cared to approach him nearer. As darkness fell the enemy appeared to be imitating the example, and a general action was confidently looked for in a few hours. A breeze, however, sprung up at midnight. As day broke, the space which they had occupied was vacant, and the last vessel of the fleet of D'Annebault was hull down on the horizon, in full sail for

August 16.

France.[1] Disease had given a victory to the English which they had no opportunity of winning with their cannon; and the admiral had paid dearly for his ruinous mistake at St Helen's. He had been a month at sea; his soldiers were cooped together in multitudes in the holds of ill-ventilated vessels; their meat was putrid; their water was foul; the plague had broken out among them, and they had perished by thousands. The single hope to save those who remained was to disembark them instantly; and officers and men, terrified at their invisible enemy, had but one desire, to escape from their prisons, which had become charnel-houses of corruption. The English despatch-boats, which followed them to the mouth of the Seine, watched the wreck of the late magnificent army lifted out upon the shore; and 'there was no manner of courage, nor gladness, nor appearance of comfort in them. Such a number of sick and miserable creatures they never saw.'[2]

This was the disastrous conclusion of the mighty effort which was to lay England prostrate. The resources of France had been concentrated upon one grand experiment, and, from combined misfortune and bad management, it ended in a collapse, which left their rivals, almost without a blow, undisputed masters of the sea. But they were not the only sufferers. In the English fleet, also, disease had appeared in a deadly form. There were complaints of swellings in the legs, and face, and head; the 'bloody flux' was pre-

[1] Lisle to Gage: *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 816.
[2] Lisle to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 823.

valent, and here too were instances of 'plague.' The larger size of the ships, the far smaller number of men to be accommodated in them, together with the more regular supply which had been maintained of fresh provisions, kept the evil within milder limits for a time. They remained together a few weeks longer. On the 3rd of September they landed six or seven thousand men in Normandy, and after burning Treport and the adjoining villages, they retired with the loss of but three men.[1] But the health of the men becoming worse, the fishermen being anxious to be at home to prepare for the herring season, and the privateers dropping off on their own adventures, the service for the summer was held to be closed. A small squadron was kept in commission to protect the communication with Boulogne; the rest of the ships were paid off, and their crews dismissed. Little glory had been gained by either side; but the English had obtained the substantial advantages of victory, if without its distinction, and to the French the reality of defeat was aggravated by the discredit of mismanagement. On D'Annebault, who was the principal author of the war, the responsibility of the failure chiefly rested; but the catastrophe had been on so large a scale, and the defensive powers of England had been so remarkably illustrated, that neither the French nor any other nation would be likely to renew the attempt at an invasion.

September.

[1] 'Whereof two of them wilfully cast away themselves, and more would have done so if they had not been looked unto.'—Lisle to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 829, 830.

It remained to be seen if they could retrieve their fortunes by the recovery of Boulogne, for on this side lay their only present hope. The Comte de Montgomery had been landed with his five thousand men in Scotland, and from him also there had been great expectations.[1] An ominous entry in the State Papers measured too plainly the extent of service which French assistance could render in return for Scottish fidelity. While Lisle was watching the dissolution of D'Annebault's fleet, Lord Hertford was making his preparations to undo the effects of Ancram Muir. When the harvest was ripe for destruction, he recrossed the Border, under the eyes of the Regent and Montgomery, and the following brief epitome of desolation records his exploits there:—'List of fortresses, abbeys, friars' houses, market towns, villages, towers, and places burnt, razed, and cast down by the Earl of Hertford, the King's Majesty's lieutenant in the north parts, in the invasion of Scotland, between the eighth of September and the twenty-third of the same, anno 1545. Monasteries and friars' houses, seven; castles, towers, and piles, sixteen; market towns, five; villages, two hundred and forty-three; mills, thirteen; spitals and hospitals, three.'[2] Barbarous and useless havoc! for the spirits of the proud Scots were tough and hard as steel. English conciliation had failed to bend them; and English ferocity could as little break their ineffectual but indomitable gallantry. Only God Almighty and the common cause

[1] *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 467.

[2] HAINES' *State Papers*, vol. i.

of the Reformation could fuse at last the jarring elements, and undo the hatred which had been bred by human folly.

The Comte de Montgomery was not to recover the lost laurels of his country. The prospect of success now was at Boulogne, where, on the site of the camp from which he had been driven in February, De Biez began again in July to collect an army. The new fort, defended by a force too considerable for an attack, rose rapidly; and so long as D'Annebault held the sea, the approaches were closed, and the town effectually blockaded. The French commander had only to maintain his advantage, and the place must soon be his own. Poynings promised his Government to hold out to the latest hour that man could endure; but the arrival of that 'latest hour' was matter of certainty, and could easily be calculated.[1]

Aug. 1.

The dispersion of the fleet, however, soon relieved the anxiety of the garrison. Thirty-five thousand men, with D'Annebault's pioneers, lay in front of the town; but day after day the English provision-ships sailed calmly into the river, under the guns of the Old Man, free to come and to go as they pleased. The irritated army accused De Biez of treason; De Biez quarrelled with his officers; and the officers were in turn distrusted by the men. In suspicion, divided counsels, indecision, and want of discipline, there were all the materials of fresh disappointment. Francis,

September.

[1] The Council at Boulogne to the Privy Council; *State Papers*, vol. x. pp. 547-8.

who was staying at a hunting lodge a few leagues distant, interfered with the management without improving it; and although the camp was the lounge of the young nobles of his train, whose amusement was to ride over to Boulogne, and break a lance with the English cavalry, exploits of individual gallantry effected little towards dismounting cannon or cutting off supplies. Siege-guns were placed in position at the fort, but they were too distant to injure the defences; and the English works had been constructed so skilfully, that on the river side they could not be brought nearer. Treachery was next tried. Three engineers from the Netherlands volunteered to take service with the garrison, intending to blow up the magazines; but the mine was countermined; the engineers were 'hoist with their own petard;' and in the discovery of one treason the clue was found of another. The Government fell on the scent of a priest who was busy in disguise among the Spanish soldiers in the English service at Berwick; and the man was detected and hanged.[1]

A desire to obtain a command of the river had been the temptation which placed the French in their present position; and De Biez, finding that he could not succeed, resolved to remove to another. His conduct throughout the siege was strange. His desire to attempt the town on the other side was intelligible in itself; but he created suspicion by giving as a reason, in a council of war, at which Du Bellay was present, that he under-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 574.

stood an English force was coming with supplies from Calais. The officers felt the absurdity of supposing that the enemy would hazard a battle to relieve a place to which they had undisputed access by sea;[1] and Francis, though giving an equally absurd reason for his belief, expressed a doubt of the General's integrity.[2] The marshal, however, was left in command; the move was effected; and a new camp was formed on Mount Lambert, on the lines which had been occupied by Henry in the preceding summer. Here they were nearer the town; but they were as little able as before to reply effectively to the English batteries; and the change produced no alteration in the monotony of the siege, except that, there being no longer a river in their way, the sallies of the garrison were incessant; and the war resolved itself into a succession of skirmishes. In these adventures the knightly gallantry of the French showed to better advantage than their generalship; and on one occasion a young nobleman, whose name in later life sounded ominously in English ears, first showed the metal of which he was made. There had been an engagement of cavalry, in which the French were yielding before superior numbers, when Francis of Lorraine, the eldest son of the Duke of Guise, dashed into the *mêlée*. He was struck with a lance through the bars of his helmet. The steel head pierced both cheeks, and six inches of

[1] 'La quelle tous les jours a nostre veue et sans danger il refreschissoit par mer.'—Du Bellay.

[2] 'Le roy me dit qu'il pensoit que le dit mareschal n'eust voulu que Boulogne eust esté reprinse craignant perdre son autorité de commander aux princes et a une si grosse armée.'—Du Bellay.

the shaft were snapped off by the violence of the blow. He sat firm in his saddle, and rode back unassisted to his tent; and when the surgeon thought he would die of pain, when the iron was extracted, 'he bore it as easily as if it had been but the plucking of a hair out of his head.'[1] Francis of Lorraine bore the scar of that wound to his grave; but he lived to repay the stroke by waving the fleurs-de-lys on the battlements of Calais, whilst the remnants of the last English garrison were taking leave for ever of the soil of France.

His turn of victory was to come; but at another time, and in another reign. For the present Boulogne would not be taken; and the ally which had done the English so great a service at sea came again to their aid. The plague, introduced perhaps by the soldiers who had disembarked from the ships, burst out in the besieging army; whole companies were annihilated by its fury; and at length the men died so fast that they were not even buried. The corpses were flung out to putrify in heaps, and saturate the air with pestilence. A few weeks of suffering made the continuance of operations by land as impossible as in the fleet. Four thousand men were left in the fort, and at the end of September the siege was raised.

One exploit only the army accomplished before their dispersion. The Calais Pale was strongly defended on the French frontier. Towards the Netherlands, the friendly, or at least the neutral, territory of the Em-

[1] 'Il porta la doulour aussi patiemment que qui ne luy eust tiré qu'un poil de la tête'—Du Bellay.

peror had been considered an adequate protection. Either careless of Charles's displeasure, or confident that he would not be displeased, they broke in suddenly through Bredenarde, overran the country, killing the unarmed peasants and villagers, and, except for the rain which had filled the dykes and impeded their movements, they might perhaps have carried Guisnes by surprise.[1] The more important object was missed, but several hundred people were destroyed; and having inflicted heavy injury by burning farms and villages, they retired at their leisure, by the route by which they had advanced; they recrossed into France, broke up, and the campaign was over.

The adventure might have been pardoned if it had formed the close of a series of successes; but the alliance with England, recklessly as the Emperor had dealt with it, continued to exist, and the desire for its maintenance was beginning to revive. It was true that his obligations were interpreted by his convenience; but France, exhausted by failure, and England, inspirited by victory, were no longer in the same relative positions as at the Peace of Crêpy. The religious enthusiasm, and the zeal for Catholic unity, had been cooled by a slackness on the part of Francis in evacuating Piedmont; and at this very time, on the 9th of September, the Duke of Orleans, whose marriage with his niece or his daughter was to form the connecting

[1] Du Bellay; and see *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 609.

link between the two Catholic powers, had died. Under such circumstances the French General had been unwise to presume too far on the indifference of the Emperor to the observance of his treaties. There had been a moment, indeed, in the summer, when he assumed an aspect towards England most dangerously menacing. The first quarrel had been scarcely disposed of when Henry, in consequence of the notoriety of the intended French invasion, applied, in compliance with the special article which referred to such a contingency, for assistance in men or money. While Charles was seeking excuses to parry this demand, an opportunity was thrown in his way by a complaint which reached him from Spain. The English merchants, being heretics, were not allowed to plead in the Castilian courts, or their evidence was not admitted against true believers, and they were exposed to outrages of all kinds without possibility of redress. Injustice produced injustice. An Englishman who had been robbed by the authorities in a Spanish port, indemnified himself on the high seas at the expense of the first Spanish ship which he fell in with. The Emperor required that he should be surrendered to justice. Henry refused to sacrifice a man who had been the first sufferer by a sustained and intolerable injury; and letters of general reprisal against all English property in Spain were in consequence threatened. The two countries seemed now to be drifting into a quarrel which neither would nor could be settled without war. The only prospect of escape, in-

deed, appeared to lie in the success of a commission which, in the beginning of June, met at Gravelines to discuss the various difficulties which had arisen under the treaty. It was composed of Sir William Petre, Dr Thirlby, and Eustace Chapuys, the late Ambassador of the Emperor in London. To the English representatives instructions characteristic of the givers were furnished by the King and by Sir William Paget.

June.

The privy council, writing at Henry's dictation, after dwelling on the many injuries of which English subjects complained, continued thus:—

'Either they think we are afraid of them, which if they do they are abused, for we have God on our side, and he will keep us when all the world will be against us; or else they think us beasts that, doing us openly and wittingly wrong in ten things, look to have redress at their beck at our hands in every one thing seeming to them wrong. Pray them to weigh things more indifferently. To charge us with breach of covenant when they break first, to bind us to the words of a treaty when it maketh for their purpose, and to use the benefit of a glosed interpretation when the words make against them, what equity, reason, honour, justice, treaty, or amity, can bear it? and this his Majesty would were told them earnestly, vehemently, and yet as it were by way of friendly complaint, that an old friend making himself in felicity and quietness partaker of his friend's trouble and unquietness, should for his good will and friendship not only be left alone in the hands of their

common enemy, but also of his friend, be thus himself and his subjects as it were tossed and turmoiled.'[1]

The excellent Paget, on the other hand, the cleverest of living men, the father of that whole race of English statesmen, who, finding their lot cast for them in hard times, have trusted more to intellect than to virtue, improved the opportunity to give to his friend Petre a lesson in diplomacy and on the character of the man with whom he would have to deal.

'For Chapuys,' he said, 'I never took him for a wise man, but for one that used to speak *cum summâ licentiâ* whatsoever came *in buccam* without respect of honesty or truth, so it might serve his turn; and of that fashion it is small mastery to be a wise man. Indeed he is a great practicer, with which honest term we cover tale-telling, lying, dissimuling, and flattering. As you have learnt to scold mannerly, so must you also, if you will deal with him, learn to lie falsely, but yet artificially, that you be not perceived, or at the least so unshamefastly that, though you be perceived, yet he to whom you tell the lie shall not dare for shame reproach you of it for fear of your falling out with him.'[1]

But the English commissioners could neither touch Chapuys' conscience, nor, however well instructed, were they a match for him in the art of lying. The conferences were fruitless. Charles resumed the management of the quarrel into his own hands; and carrying out his threat, repeated against the English in Spain 'he

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 481, &c.

[2] Paget to Petre: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 466.

same measure which had been practised with success in the Netherlands. Ships and persons were arrested everywhere, and the Emperor appeared to desire to exhibit to the Catholic world the indignities to which he could compel England to submit.

The opportunity for this measure was chosen when the danger from the French was at its highest; but Henry had gathered confidence from the spirit of his subjects. By an accident, two Spanish ships, one of them 'of great value,' probably loaded with bullion, were reported as on their way from South America to the Low Countries. The King stretched out his hand into the Channel and secured an ample indemnity for the English losses.[1] He desired Wotton to state that 'he could do no less in so manifest a case of injury,' unless he would have it appear that he would not or durst not resent it; and if the Emperor used 'any high words or threatenings,' as 'when he was told things which he liked not he was noted to use,' the ambassador should say that 'his Majesty knew him to be a great prince and never the worse by his means, and if he intended to take that way with him, his Majesty would have him to think that he was a prince too, and had a Milan in his hand for the French King as well as he; and that rather than he would be overtrodden by him in that sort, he would do things for the satisfaction of himself that the Emperor would not, peradventure, think, and would be loath he should.'[2]

July 11.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. pp. 499, 506.

[2] Ibid. p. 503.

Either because he feared that Henry would execute his threat, or because a further step in the way of reprisal would be followed by war—and as yet prudence warned him to hesitate—the Emperor lowered his tone; he professed a sudden anxiety to mediate between France and England for a peace, and for an amicable arrangement of his own quarrel. The change of attitude was so apparent as to provoke Wotton's suspicions,[1] and three weeks later the alteration became more patent. When D'Annebault's failure at the Isle of Wight became known, the Emperor professed himself ready to send assistance in money according to the treaty,[2] and his desire for cordiality increased in warmth in proportion to the improvement of the English prospects. The Duke of Orleans died while the direction of the current was changing; and as if the subordinates of the French and Imperial Governments

August.

[1] 'I marvel whence proceedeth this sudden ostentation of amity in offering to labour for a peace. Peradventure some scorpion may be hidden under the stone.'—Wotton to Paget: ibid. p. 514. And again, 'In the coldest of the winter these men were soon chafed, and took matters very hot upon light causes; and now, in the hottest of this hot summer, upon greater occasion to be somewhat chafed, they shew themselves somewhat colder than I thought they would have done; what the cause is I cannot well perceive.'—Wotton to Wriothesley: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 535.

[2] 'As concerning the aid demanded, he (Granvelle) said that the Emperor was contented to give it, and to give it in money as it was required, and for the whole time that it was required; to begin as soon as by the treaty it ought to do: but under condition that your Majesty would require nothing of the Emperor against the treaty made betwixt him and France, and that your Majesty would promise to give like aid to the Emperor when the like case should occur. This was a good indifferent way.'—Wotton to Henry VIII. *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 552.

were conscious of the probable consequences, their attitude to each other in Piedmont became daily more hostile.[1]

It was under these circumstances that the army which broke up from Boulogne ventured on a violation of the Netherlands frontier, and it will be seen that the occasion was ill-timed. Without actually threatening Francis, Charles declared more distinctly his anxiety to bring about a settlement. As an evidence of his friendship with England he consented, though with some reluctance, to an interview with the King, should the King desire to see him; and more pointedly he furnished Henry with a copy of a letter revealing the abominable treachery which the Catholic party in Europe were meditating towards England; and in which the Emperor, had the fortune of war been more favourable to the French, would doubtless have been ready to bear a part.[2]

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[1] 'In Piedmont the things between the Imperials and French proceedeth very roughly, every part engrossing himself as in just wars, so great is the suspicion between the parties, whereby men conjectureth manifest rupture between the Imperials and the French.'—Harvel to Henry VIII.: ibid. p. 646.

[2] The Protestant Princes were feeling their way at Paris towards mediating for a peace with England. A certain Gabriel de Guzman, described as 'a creeping friar' and a secret agent between Francis and Charles, was told to let the Emperor know indirectly of those overtures, in order that he might himself come more prominently forward; a peace might then be arranged, but with an understanding that it was not to be observed; and De Guzman laid the views of the King of France before the Emperor with the most devout *naïveté*.

'Juntamente con esto, me mandó al dispedir que procurase de sentir en la Corte de Vuestra Majestad Sy holgaria de juntarse con el contra el Ingles, mandando se lo la Iglesia como ya otra vez a Vuestra Majestad propuse, y anadiendo de nuevo dos

The campaign being over, the King of France now signified his readiness to treat for a peace; and, though little confidence could be placed in his good faith, something might be expected from his exhaustion. The Germans on the one side, and the Emperor on the other, offered their services to assist an arrangement; and the two factions in the French and English councils were indulged in their several sympathies, and were allowed to contend with each other for October.

puntos mas. El primero, que para la honestidad y excusa de Vuestra Majestad, el Rey haria paz con el Ingles con las mejores condiciones que el pudiese, estando seguro que despues la Iglesia mandaria a todos los Reys Christianos que castigasen al Inglese y segun el derecho commun le privasen de sus bienes como a cismatico y herege; y que entonces seria la causa commun y ygual a todos; y con esto Vuestra Majestad no seria mas notado que los otros, pues todos ygualmente ternian paz con el Rey de Inglaterra; y complir los mandamientos de Iglesia, en cosa tan sancta y pia, no es contra la palabra ni juramento, pues nadie puede prometer contra la obediencia de la Iglesia; y en esta expedition seria contento contribuir ygualmente, y se contentara con Cales, Guinas y Bologna y la renunciacion del derecho pretenso al reyno, y pension por el dicho Ingles; y que todo lo demas quedase a la disposition y voluntad de sua Majestad.' The second point refers to the efforts of the Duke of Orleans, and is unimportant.

The pious Catholics, it seems, however, distrusted the sincerity of Francis in his perfidy. 'Vuestra Majestad,' sighs De Guzman, in conclusion, 'crea que tiene tanta gana y necessidad de hazer paz con el Ingles que temo sy Dios no le alumbra que haga alguna cequedad tal como la llamada del Turco. Nuestro Señor la provea por su sancta bondad, y de a Vuestra Majestad la salud y vida que su Iglesia a menester.'

To what schemes, to what treacheries, must not Charles have been a party, before a confidential servant could address such a letter to him; and yet it perhaps required even greater effrontery to make use of it for political capital. He sent an emissary into England, 'and to the intent that the King's Majesty should perceive the Emperor's good meaning and affection towards his Highness, the said emissary brought with him a certain letter, to be shewed to his Majesty, written to the Emperor, for a practice against the King's Majesty of great importance.'—*State Papers*, vol. x. p. 619.

the privilege of securing for their respective countries the most favourable terms.

The great obstacle would still be the English conquest. The majority of Henry's advisers were of opinion that enough had been done for the honour of England. They had taken Boulogne; they had proved that it could not be wrested from them by force; but it was not worth to them the expense of further contention. 'If we leave it now,' said Gardiner,[1] 'we shall win this opinion, that we might do what we list, were it not for respect that the King's Majesty hath for Christendom. In this opinion we be abroad in the world now; and this opinion may be maintained by a peace. I esteem nothing Boulogne in comparison of the mastery we have won in keeping it and defending of our realm alone.' The Duke of Norfolk was led by his French sympathies to the same conclusion; and the King was all but alone in maintaining an opposite view. With the evidence in his hands of the bad faith of the Continental powers, he trusted as much to the substantial thing which he had grasped as to the sentiments which might be entertained of him. He had felt the value of a 'Milan for the French King,' which he could play off against the Emperor; and the power of restitution was a card which he preferred to retain in his hand. Lord Surrey, who was now with the garrison at Guisnes, took the same side; but rather, it was thought, because he was crippled with debt, and believed that, if the war lasted, he might

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 664.

cut his way out of his embarrassments, than from public spirit.[1] Henry only, on definite grounds, insisted that Boulogne was the gage for which the battle was fought —that England could not afford the appearance of yielding—that her position and her prospects depended on the evidence which she could offer of her strength.

Since the King insisted, the council were forced to yield; the negotiations opened, to come on one side to a rapid end. Gardiner went to Brussels to meet D'Annebault and Boyard—'as fearful,' he described himself, 'as a doe that stayeth hearkening to every crash of a bough.'[2] At the opening interview D'Annebault stated distinctly that, 'as the King of England had gained much honour in taking and keeping Boulogne, so he must now have the honour of restoring it.' Boyard said that the King of France would waste his realm to recover it. He might suffer wonderfully, but do it he would. He would not endure the disgrace of the loss.[3] Gladly would Gardiner have consented. 'If we take peace now,' he wrote to Paget, 'we establish the valiantness of England for ever. We be wonderful winners. We be esteemed to have treasure infinite, and to exceed all other.' But his desires were bounded by his powers, and the conference was useless.

[1] See *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 617, note. The Duke of Norfolk cautioned him how he encouraged Henry in his resolution. 'Have yourself in wait,' he wrote, 'that ye animate the King not too much for the keeping of Boulogne, for who so doth at length shall get small thanks. Look well what answer ye make to the letters from us and the council; confirm not his enterprises contained in them.'—Nott's *Surrey*, p. 178.

[2] Gardiner to Paget: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 664.

[3] Ibid. p. 673.

The Emperor would not openly interfere, but he allowed the Bishop to console himself for his disappointment by remaining at Brussels for a revision of the treaty. He held out a hope that, under a new form, it might recover its damaged obligations, and become in fact, as, if words had meaning, it ought to have been already, the basis of a genuine alliance. The other negotiation was entrusted to the only hands which combined the necessary delicacy with the equally necessary strength. Paget alone could be relied upon to ascertain the true disposition of the Lutherans. The German contingent, commanded by a friend of the Landgrave, had accepted the King's money, and had never crossed the frontier. Some thousands who had been with the army at Calais, had mutinied and deserted.[1] The delegates at Worms had trifled with Henry's offers of alliance. The Elector personally hated him. The present ambassadors might be the willing instruments of French cunning, or they might be themselves its dupes.

November. After receiving their instructions from the French Government, the Protestant representatives arrived at Calais in the middle of November. They consisted of Sleidan the historian, John Bruno, Sturmius—not the theologian, but another person of the same name and of more worldly qualities—and two

[1] An English officer wrote to Paget of the German troops that 'he did perceive that the King's Majesty was bought and sold amongst a great many of false harlots, which did take his Grace's money and did laugh his Grace to scorn, and also lewdly did report of him.'—Dymock to Paget: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 579, note; and see a Letter of Thirlby to Paget: ibid. p. 632.

or three more, of no particular note. Paget's first business was to satisfy himself of their characters. In separate interviews he found that Bruno and Sturmius were the only important persons. In Bruno he saw evidently an open-minded, honourable man, 'like a Spaniard in feature and colour,' too frank for diplomacy, but of a genuine and noble nature. Sturmius was a 'practitioner,' 'altogether French,' a keen intriguer, and a match for himself. Their colleagues, including the historian, Paget described as 'sheep,' 'gross Almains,' of whom nothing could be looked for but blunders.

It soon appeared, too, that the difference of qualities had been appreciated in Paris. The open mission had been entrusted to Bruno.

He spoke to Paget of the condition of Europe. The Pope, he said, was making a great effort to unite the Catholic powers. He had stimulated the war in order to weaken England; and his hope was at last to crush Germany and England also. To oppose him successfully, Francis must be divided from the Emperor; and he was empowered to say that, if peace was made by their present mediation, and if the King of England did not press for too stringent conditions, that object might possibly be obtained, and perhaps also the French might separate from the Papacy.

All this was a matter of course. There was no doubt of Bruno's sincerity, but he had said nothing specific, he had nothing specific to say; Paget knew too well the meaning of such vague language.

'To allure you to travail with us, to bring their purpose to pass,' he replied, 'they make you believe it is the mean to bind them to work against the Bishop of Rome, which tale, as it is new to you, and pleasant, because you do desire it, so it is to us very familiar. Heretofore when they would work anything with us, then had they nothing in their mouths but the Bishop of Rome's matters, the devising of a Patriarchate, which hath been so often said, so little done.' What had been their real conduct? They had bound themselves in their last treaty with the Emperor to maintain the Council of Trent, and the two Courts were known to be plotting a Catholic league. The safeguard of the Reformation would have been the Evangelical Alliance, and Bruno, while he regretted that it had not been completed, admitted that the fault had not been with England.

Evidently Bruno had not been admitted to the full secrets of the mission, and the minister repaired to Sturmius.

Privatus cum privato, in strictest secrecy, the latter said that he was allowed to mention the terms of peace to which the King of France had resolved to consent. Both Francis and the Dauphin distrusted the Emperor. Milan would never be surrendered. Madame d'Estampes hated the Admiral and all the Imperial faction; and the prolonged stay of Gardiner at Brussels had filled the friends of England at Paris with alarm. Granvelle was believed to have repeated the suggestion of a daughter of Ferdinand as a suitable wife for Prince

Edward. Rumour added that Charles was again thinking of the Princess Mary, and Philip might complete the union of the families by taking Elizabeth. Let these views be given up, let Gardiner be recalled, and the Imperialist and Romanizing factions would be out of favour, and peace would be granted to the English on the most liberal conditions. They should keep Boulogne; the pensions should be paid; the Queen of Scotland should be placed at Henry's disposal, and be carried to England whenever he desired. Let a treaty be accepted upon these terms, and the Protestant States would be comprehended in it, the Council of Trent would be disowned, and the Reformation would be saved.[1]

The adventitious matter of this communication the English ambassador could estimate at its proper value; but the special proposals were not inadmissible; if they were made in sincerity, it was difficult to see why Bruno and Sturmius had received separate commissions; they were referred, however, without delay to the King. A day or two after Sturmius was summoned to Paris, by an express from Madame d'Estampes, and a private messenger came to Paget to entreat, in her name and that of the Queen of Navarre, for an immediate answer. The opposite faction, he said, were busily at work. If they succeeded, the two ladies, and all that were against the Pope, were ruined; while if peace could be made, 'the Admiral and the Cardinal Tournon would be sent to the devil headlong.'

[1] Paget to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 708, &c.

In treating for peace with a great nation it was dangerous to hold a secret correspondence with intriguing women. Paget was cold. The messenger grew feverish.

'O,' he cried, 'help now; for herein resteth the deliverance of France out of the tyranny of the Pope, and the conservation of your liberty.'

'If there were peace,' asked Paget, 'would the King your master leave the Pope?'

'I say not so directly,' he answered; 'but Madame d'Estampes and the Queen of Navarre say it cannot choose but follow.'

But Madame d'Estampes and the Queen of Navarre were not the French Government. 'I am of gross understanding,' Paget replied. 'I can advise nothing, nor set forth any other practice, but after a rude and plain fashion. Let us enjoy Boulogne; pay us that you owe us, and assure us of our pension.'[1]

December. A few days after, Sturmius returned. He had seen the King of France himself, and with great difficulty he said that he had prevailed upon him to consent really and truly to pay his debts to England —the amount of arrears to be assessed by the Germans; to leave Boulogne as a security in the hands of the English; and either to force the Scots to observe the treaty of 1543, or, if they refused, to leave them without support or encouragement.

Had this been a *bonâ fide* offer on the part of the

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 755.

French Government, the war was at an end; but Paget, on asking a few questions, discovered circumstances which induced him to hesitate. It appeared that when D'Annebault was at Brussels a conversation had passed between him and the Emperor, in which the latter had said that, 'unless the French King would agree with him *in omnibus rebus litigiosis*, he would not travel for the restitution of Boulogne; and in that case he would.'[1] Francis, who looked for no conditions, was irritated; and Madame d'Estampes took the opportunity of urging a peace with England. When out of temper Francis would say more than he meant; and Sturmius's first conversation with Paget had been based upon hasty expressions which the King let fall in the heat of the moment. Tournon and D'Annebault had afterwards remonstrated; the King was relapsing into hostility; when at the moment Friar Guzman brought an intimation from the Emperor that he was resolved after all to keep Milan. Francis was at once incontrollable. The name of Milan drove him into madness; he swore, *par la foy de gentilhomme*, that he would make a league with the Protestants; he desired Madame d'Estampes to summon Sturmius; and out of the fit of bad temper arose the articles now proposed.[2]

'The Frenchmen,' Paget wrote to the King, 'be naturally fantastical; and a man shall have at one time that he cannot at another;' he doubted whether it might not be better to close with them at once; and

[1] *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 774.

[2] Ibid. p. 775.

yet there was a distrust of conditions arrived at in a passing humour, and disapproved by a powerful faction. The expenses of the war and the terms on which Boulogne was to be held, required to be ventilated; and suspicion was justified by a discovery soon after that Francis had sent to Scotland, instructing Beton to practise for a peace, and 'not to stick to promise what the King of England would, so that he would render Boulogne; for, whatsoever promises the Scots made, the Queen being an infant, she might go from it when she came of age.'[1] The King had fallen among thieves, and more than ordinary precautions were necessary. In vain Sturmius flattered the English successes. Paget said that he had the peace so much at heart that he ate it, drank it, slept it, dreamt it; but he knew that the French were exhausted, and that sooner or later the same terms would be offered, with the consent of all parties, and with security that they would be faithfully observed.

The ambassador's own conduct must be described by no pen but his own. Troubled with a needless fear that, from youth and inexperience, he had fallen short of what he ought to have accomplished, at an intricate point in the negotiations he poured out his heart to Henry:—

'Good will,' he said, 'your Majesty is sure of in us all; and for my part, so that all things were concluded to your Majesty's contentation, I would say with all my heart, as St Paul said, *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum*

[1] Sir Edward Karne to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 80.

Christo. I have omitted no manner of thing, neither of your Majesty's forces, your riches yet in store, the forwardness of your subjects, their wealth, their contributions, what forces you intend to make, what you will do, yea, things unthought of, rather than fail if the French King agree not; how your Majesty will invade him on this side by sea and land, on Piedmont side by the Duke of Savoy; and if he touch your Majesty's countries, or help the Scots, then the Emperor will be his enemy, and after fall out with him for Savoy, Piedmont, and Burgundy. On the other side I have said that there yet remaineth a love in your Majesty's heart towards him; what wonderful things he may hope of your Majesty, if he make this peace with you; how they (the Protestants) may hope touching religion; how I am French, how I am Evangelic, how I will and have the means to move *maria et montes* for them and the French King. Finally, touching your Majesty, the Emperor, the French King, the Almayns, and every prince's councillors, I have praised, dispraised, given hope, fear, mistrust, jealousy, suspicion, respectively; I have lied, said truth, spoken fair, roughly, pleasantly, promised gifts, pensions, and done all that may be done or said for the advancement of this matter, and much more than I will abide by, as Will Somers[1] saith, if I were asked the question. But all is in God's hands; and it is He that beyond all men's expectations directeth things at his pleasure to his glory.'[2]

[1] The King's jester.

[2] Paget to Henry VIII. *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 782.

A sufficient result would arise in due time from these honest services. The difficulty was already less in the terms on which a peace might be made, than on the security which could be obtained for their observance. After a weary correspondence, Henry declared that he would be satisfied if Boulogne with the country adjoining was left in his hands till the arrears of his debts were paid, if hostages were given for the future payment of the pensions, and the connection with the Scots relinquished. In these points the discussion terminated; and an arrangement was all but concluded, when the Romanist party made a last effort, and succeeded in breaking off the negotiations. The Protestants withdrew; and the war was renewed, till the impossibility of wresting better conditions from England was more completely proved.

Lord Surrey commanded at Boulogne through the winter, with perpetual skirmishes and alternate successes and failures. The garrison of the French fort had suffered, like the rest of the army, from the plague. Surrey had cut short its supplies, and famine had been added to disease. On the 7th of January his good fortune was interrupted by a catastrophe. The enemy, five thousand strong, were reported to be approaching with a convoy of provisions from Mottreul. The Earl attempted to intercept them; and in a severe action which ensued, several companies of infantry, in 'a humour' which, Lord Surrey said, 'sometimes reigned among Englishmen,' were seized with a panic, and ran, leaving their officers to be de

1546. January 7.

stroyed.[1] But, as with the defeat of Ancram Muir, a single reverse produced little difference in the bearings of the war; Surrey was superseded; in March Lord Hertford was again in France with thirty thousand men, while Lord Lisle, 'God's own knight,' as he was called, was preparing a fleet at Portsmouth a third more powerful than that which had baffled D'Annebault. The Emperor had accepted and signed a revised version of the treaty, by which he again bound himself to interfere if England or the Calais Pale was invaded, and his differences with France left little doubt that this time he would keep his word. The Germans had halted between two opinions till the course which they ought to have followed was no longer open to them. At one moment they deplored their rejection of the English advances;[2] they entreated Henry again to join them,[3] even though they declined to take part with him in the war;[4] in the next, careless of offending him, and reckless of the consequences, they threw open their frontiers to the recruiting officers of the French.[5] Christopher Mont remonstrated with the Landgrave, and the Landgrave

March.

April.

[1] Surrey to Henry VIII.: *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 3, &c.

[2] 'Discessum Domini Bucleri plerique omnes Protestantes et boni viri dolent. Cupiunt enim conjunctionem cum serenissimo rege inire quod modo in hisce comitiis Francfordianis fore speraverant. Vident enim Romanum episcopum cum suis complicibus non desistere a cœlo terræ confundendo; et ut in causâ cum serenissimo rege conjuncti sunt, ita admodum cupiunt communi consilio et sociis armis ereptam libertatem contra Romani episcopi tyrannidem vindicare.'—Mont to Paget: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 822.

[3] Ibid. vol. xi. p. 33.

[4] Ibid. vol. x. p. 36.

[5] 'One thing there is which much offendeth the King's Majesty, that seeing the French King is in

pointed despondingly to Henry's renewed league with the Empire; not choosing to confess, and yet unable to deny, that the same league had been within their own reach, and that they had trifled with their opportunity. Repentance now was too late. The substantial support of the Emperor, however hollow might be the motive with which it was given, was too valuable to the English to be flung away in the uncertain hope of a friendship unpopular in itself with most of them, and politically made useless by divided counsels and instability of purpose.

How little they could expect from France the Lutheran league had soon occasion of knowing. As soon as the attitude of Charles was definitively taken, the cabinet of Paris had no longer a serious intention of continuing the war. They had other work upon their hands. The glens of Languedoc and the valley of the Loire were already ringing with the shrieks of perishing heretics. The blood of four thousand innocents—old men, women, and children—was the pious expiation with which, at the opening of the Council of Trent, Francis

league with the Bishop of Rome, the apparent enemy of those Princes, and who hath in no one point joined himself with the Protestants nor will not, yet they esteem his friendship so much as they do, suffering men of his to be so familiar with them, and to levy in their countries against the King's Majesty. Let them look to the matter. The weaker they suffer his Majesty to be made, they shall find at length their part therein, and so tell them hardly their part is more therein than they know of. But few words sufficeth a wise man: for whensoever it pleaseth their enemies, they have in their hands wherewith to bring their antient friend, as they call him, the French King, on their necks with his drawn sword in his hand to overthrow those heretics, as the French King calleth them among his council.'—Paget to Mont: *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 61.

sought to purchase remission for his dealings with the enemies of the faith; and the Germans awoke to find in their Pharaoh a bruised reed, which had run into their hand and pierced it.

On the 6th of May, no longer with the assistance of mediators or female intriguers, Lord Lisle, Paget, D'Annebault, and Boyard, the president of the French council, met at Ardes for a concluding arrangement, and this time the conference opened with a frankness on both sides which promised well for the result. Paget said that England had been drawn into the war to recover her debts, and four times the amount of the debt, he allowed, had been already spent in the process of recovery.

'You have well scourged us,' D'Annebault said, with equal honesty, 'for that your money was not paid. You have slain our people, and devastated our country, and also compelled us to pay our debts, which is a sufficient pain for nonpayment, and a great honour to your master.'[1]

Honour had been the chief point in the quarrel—England could not submit that its debts should be disowned. Honour being satisfied, it was vain to expect that the whole expenses could be recovered, although it was just to insist upon a portion of them.

Successive offers and successive demands were referred to London and Paris. On the 15th of May, Paget informed the King of the conditions to which the French would agree:— May.

[1] *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 132.

1. On or before Michaelmas, 1554, they would pay two million crowns, for the arrears due to England, for the fortifications which had been erected at Boulogne, and the expenses of the war.

2. The claim for the half-million crowns expended by England in 1528, in support of the army in Italy, should be referred to a commission, and should be paid, if determined to be just.

3. The life-pension to the King of a hundred thousand crowns, and the perpetual pension to England of fifty thousand, should be also paid.

4. Boulogne, and the county of Boulogne, should be left in the hands of the English for eight years as a security, or till the completion of the payments.

5. The Scots should be comprehended in the peace, but under conditions which should leave them still bound by the treaties of 1543.[1]

These terms were less than those which England had expected—less, perhaps, than those which she might have exacted at the close of another campaign. But the war had already cost fifteen hundred thousand pounds. A fresh subsidy had been cheerfully granted by Parliament, when it met in November;[2] but the expenses of the enormous force which the King had been obliged to maintain in the past summer had fallen at a time when there were no ordinary means of meeting it; the financial expedients, so easy in the present constitution of society, were then impossible; and after ma-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 163: and see DU BELLAY.

[2] For the account of this Parliament see the next Chapter.

ture deliberation, and satisfied that so extreme a measure was justified by necessity, the council had applied for a temporary loan from the Mint, which would occasion a debasement of the currency. It was a proceeding not distinguishable, except in form, from the suspension of specie payments in 1797, and it was caused by a similar pressure. The effect was less immediately felt in the enhancement of prices, because at the earlier period the tariff of the necessaries of life was assessed by law, and the shilling, whatever was its purity, was for a time equally efficacious in the market. But artificial prices are, in their nature, incapable of being long maintained, and the evil of a depreciated currency was no mystery to the able ministers of Henry. The loan was accompanied with a definite engagement from the Lord Chancellor that it should be repaid at the earliest moment;[1] and inevitable as the war had been at its outset, yet prudence and honesty alike recommended a return to peace when the credit of the country had been adequately maintained, without a further drain on its resources. Sir William Paget had been so earnest for the acceptance of the French offers, as to have displeased the King by his warmth; but he still persisted: 'No man living,' he wrote to Petre, 'taketh so much care as I do for the avoiding every manner of thing which might offend his Majesty; not for any servile fear, for

[1] *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 830, 835. It was under this aspect that the tempting resource first suggested itself. Nor is it fair to condemn a measure to which, under some form or other, all nations in times of difficulty have had recourse, because the promise of repayment was subsequently broken with infinite injury to the country.

there is none in me, but for the singular love and entire affection which God, my conscience, and honesty have graffed and nourished in my heart to my sovereign and most benign and gentle master. As for peace, when I remember that God is the Author of it, yea, peace itself, and that Christ praised always peaceable men all the time of his being among men visibly, and at his departing from them recommended most specially peace, I cannot but praise peace, desire peace, and help to my power the advancement of peace. I see, and so doth all his Majesty's council, as both I and you have heard them say when they are together, the continuance of the war, for the charge thereof so uncertain, the ways and means for the relief thereof so strait, and at such ebb, as my heart bleedeth in my body when I think of it. So as we had peace to the King's Majesty's satisfaction, I would gladly be sacrificed for it, if my death might help forward the matter.'[1]

Round the earnestness of the persuasion an English humour flickered playfully. 'I remember,' he said, 'President Scory's tale to me at my last being with the Emperor, of one that, being condemned to die by a certain king, which had an ass wherein he had great felicity, the man offered—to save his life—that within a twelvemonth he could make the king's ass to speak; whereunto the king accorded; and being said unto the man by a friend of his, What! it is impossible; hold thy peace, quoth he, *car ou le Roy mourera ou l'asne mourera*,

[1] Paget to Petre: *State Papers*, vol. x. p. 139.

ou l'asne parlera ou je mourera, signifying thereby that in time many things are altered. And so, ere the time of payment come, either we shall make some new bargain to keep Boulogne, or the French King, for want of keeping his covenants, shall forfeit it; or the French King shall die, and his son need not so much desire the recovery of it; or some other thing will chance in the mean time.'[1]

The reasoning and the tale prevailed. Henry acquiesced in the French proposals without alteration, and after some minor differences on the frontier line and on the tenure of property within the conceded territory, peace was concluded on the 7th of June, 1546.[2]

Scotland had been one of the chief causes of the war. Scotland had been among the chief difficulties in the conclusion of it. Yet here, too, while the commissioners were debating at Ardes, the principal occasion of trouble was removed, and the chief pillar of the anti-English policy was struck suddenly away.

The schemes which had been formed against the life of the Cardinal appeared to have dropped to the ground, and he had continued his war against the Reformers with sword and stake. He had done the work of the Ultramontanes effectively. He had saved the authority of the Pope at a moment when it was tottering to its base; and the clergy within the realm and without had not been slack in their recognition of his merits. But being supreme, he was pleased that his

[1] Paget to Petre: *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 164.

[2] RYMER'S *Fœdera*, vol. vi. part 3, p. 136.

position should be universally acknowledged; and on an inquisitorial visit which he had paid to Glasgow, an indecorous dispute had arisen between himself and a rival archbishop on the score of precedence, when they were going to mass in the cathedral.[1] The coldness which had followed had been too injurious to Catholic interests to be allowed to continue; the two prelates were soon reconciled, and the occasion was chosen for the execution, or the murder, whichever we prefer to call it, of the most dangerous of the present leaders of the Reformation.

George Wishart, one of a numerous race who at that time bore the name of Wishart in the Lowlands, had

[1] 'The Cardinal alleged, by reason of his cardinalship, and that he was *legatus natus* in the kingdom of Antichrist, that he should have the pre-eminence, and that his cross should not only go before, but that it only should be borne wheresoever he was. The Archbishop (of Glasgow) also lacked no reason, as he thought, for maintenance of his glory. He was an archbishop in his own diocese, and in his own cathedral, see, and kirk, and therefore ought to give place to no man. However these doubts were resolved by the doctors of divinity of both the prelates, yet the decision was as ye shall hear. Coming forth or going in at the choir door of Glasgow Kirk began striving for state between the two cross-bearers, so that from glooming they came to shouldering, from shouldering they went to buffets; and then for charity's sake they cried, 'Dispersit dedit pauperibus,' and assayed which of the crosses was of finest metal, which staff was strongest, and which bearer could best defend his master's pre-eminence; and that there should be no superiority in that behalf, to the ground went both the crosses; and there began no little fray, but yet a merry game, for rochets were rent, tippets were torn, crowns were knyppit, and gowns might have been seen wantonly wag from one wall to the other. Many of them lacked beards, and that was the more pity, and therefore could not buckle other by the byrss as some bold men would have done. But fie on the jackmen, they did not their duty, for had the one part of them rencountered the other, then all had gone right.'—KNOX'S *History of the Reformation.*

been educated at Cambridge. At the University he had borne the character of saintliness; not perhaps the mild and feminine disposition which the word now suggests to us, but a character like Latimer's or Tyndal's. He had afterwards in England exposed himself to honourable peril. A letter of the Mayor of Bristol to Cromwell, in 1539, complains of his presence and his teaching;[1] and Bristol was the hotbed of orthodoxy, the most dangerous of English towns to an Evangelical preacher. From this time (unless he was the messenger who carried to Hertford the intimation of the conspiracy against the Cardinal) his name disappears until he came forward in his own country, on the brief service by which he was to earn his martyrdom.

In the autumn of 1545 he began to preach in the fields in various parts of Scotland, followed, like his Master, by crowds of the poor, and, like Him, teaching them to abandon their sins, and to lead pure, sober, and industrious lives. Such an occupation might have been considered innocent, perhaps even laudable; but it is likely that he did not conceal his opinion of those whose functions he was obliged to usurp. He became formidable by a popularity as extensive as it was rapid; and the Cardinal, as the readiest method of delivering himself from a troublesome person, commissioned a priest to stab him.[2] The priest prepared to obey; but Wishart 1545.

[1] *MS. State Paper Office*, first series, vol. x.

[2] Knox, who is the principal authority for the circumstance of Wishart's ministry, was in constant attendance upon him, and speaks with the authority, if also with the prejudices, of an eye-witness, a friend and companion.

detected a suspicious figure among his listeners, and a suspicious movement; he caught the arm as it was raised under the gown, and the poniard dropped from the hand. The first failure was followed by a second. A hasty message, brought at midnight, summoned the preacher to the bedside of a dying kinsman, and armed men lay in ambush on the road, to take him dead or alive. Here also a seasonable prudence preserved him for a time. But his enemy was too powerful; the Earl of Bothwell next undertook the capture, and succeeded. John Knox, who, since the attempts at the Reformer's destruction, had attended him with a sword, desired still to share his fortunes; but Wishart, who had seen how precious a mind and heart lay behind the rugged features of his follower, would not allow it. 'Gang home to your bairns,' he said to him, 'ane is sufficient for a sacrifice.'[1] He accompanied Bothwell alone, and was imprisoned, first at Edinburgh, and then in the fatal Sea Tower at St Andrew's. This was in January, 1546.

Jan. 1546.

A Convocation of the clergy was held by the Cardinal in the following month, the Archbishop of Glasgow was present, and the criminal against the Church was brought out for trial. The heresy was readily proved; but, as we know, the spiritual law, and spiritual men, though they could convict, yet might not sentence to death. They washed their hands, like Pilate, and handed over their offenders to secular judgment and

[1] Knox was at this time teaching the family of the Laird of Ormiston.

secular execution. In decent observance of these formalities, Beton applied to the Regent for the assistance necessary to complete the proceedings; and the Regent would have acquiesced as a matter of course, but, at the entreaty of a friend, he was persuaded to hesitate, and directed the Cardinal to proceed no further until he could himself examine the prisoner in person.[1] The Cardinal in an ordinary matter might have endured Arran's interference; in the present instance he declined the responsibility of obedience. He arranged a pseudo-official condemnation in one of his own courts, where a lay magistrate transacted the necessary forms; and on the 1st of March a pile and a gallows were prepared under the windows of the Castle, where the two Archbishops might sit in state and preside over the ceremony.

In anticipation of an attempt at rescue, the Castle guns were loaded and the portfires lighted. 'After this, Mr Wishart was led to the fire, with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle; and when that he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees and rose up again, and thrice he said these words: 'Oh, thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me. Father of Heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands.'' He next spoke a few words to the people; and then 'last of all the hangman, that was his tormentor, sat upon his knees and said, 'Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death;' to whom he answered, 'Come hither to me;' and he

May.

[1] CALDERWOOD, vol. i. p. 201.

kissed his cheek and said, 'Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee. Do thy office.' And then he was put upon a gibbet and hanged, and then burnt to powder.'[1]

Life for life. If Wishart was an instrument of the conspiracy against Beton, in the eyes of his friends, he was still a martyr, and Beton was a murderer. Law, in its pure and proper sense, there was none in Scotland; the partition lines between evil and good were obliterated in the general anarchy; and right struggled against wrong with such ambiguous weapons as the 'wild justice' of nature suggested.

With a misgiving that danger was in the air, the Cardinal strengthened his faction by marrying one of his bastard daughters to the Earl of Crawford. The secret overtures of the Laird of Grange and Norman Leslie to the English Government, it is likely, had been betrayed to him; and another Leslie, the brother of the Earl of Rothes, on Wishart's death, had been heard to mutter that 'his hand and dagger should be priests to the Cardinal.' Throughout the spring, in the lengthening days, a hundred workmen were busy, from sunrise to sunset, converting the episcopal palace of St Andrew's into an impregnable fortress, where dungeons were already destined for the custody of perilous conspirators.

May 28. The night of the 28th of May the great churchman passed with his mistress; she was seen in the dawn of the morning to leave the postern which led to his private apartments;[2] and about the

[1] Knox; Calderwood.

[2] Knox,

same hour the drawbridge was lowered, and the front gates were thrown open, to admit the masons and the stone-carts. As the labourers were collecting, William Kirkaldy, the treasurer's eldest son, May 29. a boy of about seventeen, and five or six other young men, sauntered to the porter's lodge, and inquired if the Cardinal was stirring. They were told that he had not yet appeared, and they affected to be looking at the alterations, and asking indifferent questions, when presently the Master of Rothes came up, with two or three more, and afterwards John Leslie. The first two parties had caused no suspicion. It was daylight; the castle was full of men; and the idea of danger occurred to no one. John Leslie, however, was known to be on bad terms with Beton, and as he crossed the bridge, the porter started and attempted to close the gates. But the movement was too late. Kirkaldy struck him down with a single blow, snatched the keys from his girdle, and flung him into the foss. Leslie sprang through; the workmen, confused by the sudden surprise, and some of them perhaps in the secret of the plot, were thrust out, and the gates were locked behind them; and while young Grange kept guard over the postern, the rest of the party secured the servants in their rooms, and dismissed them one by one. Beton's apartment overlooked the quadrangle. Being disturbed by the noise, he threw open his window, and called to know the meaning of it. Some one cried that Norman Leslie had taken the castle. He drew back and darted to the back gate, but it was closed; he was caught in the trap, and returning to

his room, he barricaded the door, and sat waiting for his fate.

It was not long in finding him. The tramp of steps sounded along the gallery; a voice summoned him to open. 'Who calls?' he cried. 'Leslie!' was the answer. 'Is it Norman?' he said. The Master of Rothes was but a boy, and he might hope to soften him. But Norman was below in the court; it was John, who had sworn to give Wishart's murderer the last sacrament with his poniard, and with him James Melville and Carmichael—names, both of them, of equally portentous omen.

The Cardinal did not move; the door was strong; and he cried out to know if they would spare his life. 'Perhaps,' Leslie answered. 'Nay,' exclaimed the wretched voice, 'but swear that you will;' 'swear by God's wounds.' 'That which was said is unsaid,' shouted the avenger. He called for fire; a pan of burning charcoal was laid against the panels, and the crackling of the blazing wood soon told the hopelessness of resistance. A boy who was in the room drew back the bolts; the armed men strode in through the smoke, and their victim stood before them half-dressed and trembling. In the hard eyes and the drawn swords he read his doom. He sank back into a chair. 'I am a priest! I am a priest!' he said; 'ye will not slay me.' Leslie and Carmichael darted forward, without speaking, and each stabbed him. They drew back their arms to repeat their blows, when James Melville, 'being a man,' says Knox, 'of nature most gentle and modest,' per-

ceiving them both in choler, withdrew them; 'This work and judgment of God, although it be secret,' he cried, 'yet ought it to be done with greater gravity.' Holding his sword at Beton's throat, 'Repent thee,' he said to him, 'of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that instrument of God, Mr George Wishart, which, albeit the flames of fire consumed before men, yet cries it with a vengeance upon thee; and we from God are sent to revenge it. I protest that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, or the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved or move me to strike thee, but only because thou hast been, and remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus and his Holy Evangel.' 'And so he struck him twice or thrice through with a sword,' and so he fell, cut off even in the blossom of his sins, only shricking miserably, 'I am a priest; I am a priest. Fie! fie! all is gone!'

The cry went out through the castle, and up into the borough of St Andrew's. The alarm-bell rang. The provost and four hundred of the townspeople streamed down under the walls before the gate, and clamoured to bring out the Cardinal. 'Incontinent, they brought the Cardinal dead to the wall head in a pair of sheets, and hung him over the wall by the tane arm and the tane foot, and bade the people see there their god.'[1]

'The faithless multitude, that would not believe till they did see, departed without *requiem æternam* or *re-*

[1] Lyndsay to Wharton: *State Papers*, vol. v. p. 560; Buchanan; Calderwood; Knox.

quiescat in pace sung for his soul. Because the weather was hot,' says the pitiless Knox, 'and his funeral could not suddenly be prepared, it was thought best to bestow enough of great salt upon him, a coffin of lead, and a corner in the bottom of the Sea Tower, to await what exequies his brethren the bishops would bestow upon him.'[1]

June. Thus perished David Beton, and with him the cause of the Papacy in Scotland. The national faction survived his death. Mary of Guise and her friends continued to lean upon France, and the ancient religion appeared for a few years longer to maintain itself at their side. But the spirit of Romanism as a living superstition was extinguished with its latest representative; and the mass was no longer the expression of a true inward belief. Those who professed to be the friends of the Church shared with its enemies in its present plunder. In a few years the once beautiful fabric lay prostrate in confused ruin.

[1] As an immediate consequence, a popular outbreak and a pillage of the religious houses was looked for. On the 11th of June or July (the record is ambiguous), 'My Lord Governour, with advice of the Queen's Grace and lords of the council, understanding that through the occasion of this troublous time, and great inobedience made both to God and man in the committing of divers enorme and exorbitant crimes, it is dread and feared that evil-disposed persons will invade, destroy, cast down, and withhold abbeys, abbey places, kirks, as well parish churches as other religious places, priories of all orders, nunneries, chapels, and other spiritual men's houses, against the laws of God and man, and incontrair the liberty and freedom of holy kirk, for the eschewing of such inconvenients, it is statute and ordained that letters be directed into all parts of the realm, with open proclamation and charge to all our Sovereign Lady's lieges, that nane of them take on hand to cast down or destroy any such places ordained for God's service or dedicated to the same, under the pain of tinsall of life, lands, and goods.' — *Acta Parliamentorum Mariæ*, 1546.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

A WAR which had exhibited at a critical time the military power of England, repaid its cost in an increase of security; yet, though osculating in separate points with the deeper impulses of the age, it remained as it began, substantially unconnected with those impulses. Beneath the contests of diplomatists, the movements of armies, and the clash of hostile fleets, the tide of inward revolution flowed on upon its separate course, and the conflict, so absorbing while it continued, was but an expensive accident in respect to the vital interests of the nation. The result of greatest importance had been the destruction of pleasant illusions. The conservatives, who had fixed their hearts on the alliance with the Emperor—the Protestants, who would unite the fortunes of the Anglican and German Reformation, had alike been disappointed. The Emperor might remain, while it suited his convenience, a political confederate; in his heart he belonged to the Papacy. The Lutherans, timid and irresolute, had first held out their hand, and had

shrunk back when it was accepted. Thus the two parties which divided England were left to determine by themselves the form of their future; and if the moderate good sense of the country could prevent an armed collision between the fanatics of either extreme, it was likely to arrange itself into a compromise. The elements of danger were still considerable; yet the revolution, which had already been securely accomplished, might inspire a reasonable confidence. Sixteen years had now elapsed since the memorable meeting of Parliament in 1529; and in those years the usurpation of Rome had been abolished; the phantom which overshadowed Europe had become a laughing-stock; the clergy for four centuries had been the virtual rulers in State and Church; their authority had extended over castle and cottage; they had monopolized the learned professions, and every man who could read was absorbed under the privileges of their order; supreme in the cabinet, in the law courts, and in the legislature, they had treated the Parliament as a shadow of Convocation, and the House of Commons as an instrument to raise a revenue, the administration of which was theirs: their gigantic prerogatives had now passed away from them; the Convocation which had prescribed laws to the State endured the legislation of the Commons, even on the Articles of the Faith; the religious houses were swept away; their broad lands had relapsed to the laity, with the powers which the ownership conveyed with it; the mitred abbots had ceased to exist; the temporal lords had a majority in the House of Peers; and the Bishops

battled ineffectually to maintain the last fragment of their independent grandeur.

Tremendous as the outward overthrow must have seemed to those who remembered the old days, the inward changes were yet more momentous. A superstition which was but the counterpart of magic and witchcraft, which buried the Father of heaven and earth in the coffins of the saints, and trusted the salvation of the soul to the efficacy of mumbled words, had given place to a real, though indistinct, religion. Copies of the Bible were spread over the country in tens of thousands. Every English child was taught in its own tongue the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, and the Commandments. Idolatry existed no longer; and the remaining difficulties lay only in the interpretation of the Sacred Text, and in the clinging sense, which adhered to all sides alike, that to misunderstand it was not an error, but a crime. Here, although Catholic doctrine, not only in its practical corruptions, but in its purest 'developments,' shook at the contact with the Gospels, yet the most thoughtful had been compelled to pause embarrassed. If mistake was fatal, and if the Divine nature and the Divine economy could not be subject to change, to reject the interpretations on which that doctrine had maintained itself, was to condemn the Christian Church to have been deserted for a thousand years by the spirit of truth, and this was a conclusion too frightful, too incredible to be endured. The laity, so bold against the Pope and the monasteries, turned their faces from it into the dogmatism of the Six Articles.

Yet still the genius of change went onward, caring little for human opposition. To move with it, or to move against it, affected little the velocity with which the English world was swept into the New Era. The truth stole into men's minds they knew not how. The King, as we have seen, began to shrink from persecution, and to shelter suspected persons from orthodox cruelty. The Parliament which would not yet alter the heresy law, tempered the action of it, and was rather contented to retard a movement which threatened to be too wildly precipitate than attempt any more to arrest it.

Next to the Bible, there are few things which have affected the character of the modern English more deeply than the Liturgy. The beautiful roll of its language mingles with the memories of childhood; it is the guide of our dawning thought, and accompanies us through each stage of our life with its chaste ceremonials from the font to the edge of the grave. Having been composed at a period when old and new beliefs were contending for supremacy, it contains some remnants of opinions which have no longer perhaps a place in our convictions; but the more arduous problems of speculation are concealed behind a purposed vagueness which shrinks from definition; and the spirit of the Prayer Book is the spirit of piety more than of theology, of wisdom more than of dogma.

Thus, although as an historical document the Liturgy is valuable as a picture of the minds of the English Reformers, it is with a keener interest that we watch the first germs of it passing into the form with

which we are so familiar. Two English primers had been published since the commencement of the movement, one in 1535, another under the auspices of Cromwell in 1539; but the first of these was passionate and polemical, the second was slightly altered from the Breviary. If we except the Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, which were attached to the articles of religion sent out in 1536, the earliest portion of our own Prayer Book which appeared in English was the Litany, prepared by the King in the summer of 1544, and perhaps translated by him. On the eve of his departure to Boulogne he sent it, with the following letter, to Cranmer, to be circulated through the country.

'Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well; and let you wit that, calling to our remembrance the miserable state of all Christendom, being at this present, besides all other troubles, so plagued with most cruel wars, hatreds, and dissensions, as no place of the same—almost being the whole reduced to a very narrow corner—remaineth in good peace and concord—the help and remedy hereof, far exceeding the power of any man, must be called for of Him who only is able to grant our petitions, and never forsaketh or repelleth any that firmly believe and faithfully call upon Him; unto whom also the examples of Scripture encourage us in all these and others our troubles and necessities to flee. Being therefore resolved to have continually, from henceforth, general processions in all cities, towns, churches, and parishes of this our realm, said and sung with such reverence

and devotion as appertaineth, for as much as heretofore the people partly for lack of good instruction and calling, partly for that they understood no part of such prayers and suffrages as were used to be said and sung, have used to come very slackly to the processions, where the same have been commanded heretofore, we have set forth certain godly prayers and suffrages in our native English tongue, which we send you herewith; signifying unto you that, for the especial trust and confidence we have of your godly mind and earnest desire to the setting forward of the glory of God and the true worshipping of his most holy name, within that province committed by us unto you, we have sent unto you these suffrages, not to be for a month or two observed and after slenderly considered, as our other injunctions have, to our no little marvel, been used; but to the intent, as well the same as other our injunctions, may earnestly be set forth by preaching, good exhortation, and otherwise, to the people, in such sort as they, feeling the godly taste thereof, may godly and joyously, with thanks, embrace the same as appertaineth.'[1]

In the year following a collection of English prayers was added to the Litany, a service for morning and evening, and for the burial of the dead;[2] and the King, in a general proclamation, directed that they should be used in all churches and chapels in the place of the Breviary. It was the duty of the sovereign, he

[1] Henry VIII. to the Archbishop of Canterbury: WILKINS's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 869.

[2] See *Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.* Oxford. 1834.

said, to endeavour that his subjects should pass their lives devoutly and virtuously, to the honour of God, and the salvation of their souls. Prayer was the appointed and the only means by which such a life was rendered possible; but prayer of the most passionate and ravishing kind was of little profit, if it was an emotion undirected by the understanding; and to make use of words in a foreign language, merely with a sentiment of devotion, the mind taking no fruit, could be neither pleasing to God, nor beneficial to man. The party that understood not the pith or effectualness of the talk that he made with God, might be as a harp or pipe, having a sound, but not understanding the noise that itself had made; a Christian man was more than an instrument; and he had therefore provided a determinate form of supplication in the English tongue, that his subjects might be able to pray like reasonable beings in their own language.[1]

The surest testimony to wise and moderate measures is the disapproval of fanatics of all kinds. Amidst the factions which were raging round him, the King, with his rational advisers, had no desire to swell the clamour; he sought to accomplish something unquestionably genuine and good, which might bear fruit at a future time. But to the eager Protestants the prayers were tainted with Popery; falling short of their own extravagances they seemed as worthless as the Latin forms which they displaced: while the reactionaries, on the

[1] WILKINS, vol. iii. p. 873.

other hand, looked on with mere dismay, and watched for some change of fortune, or some fresh access of folly in their adversaries, to compel Henry once more to turn back upon his steps. As the moderate party was gaining ground, the discord between the extremes grew louder and more bitter; and in the midst of it Parliament met, after a longer interval than usual, in November 1545. From the 'Statute Book' it would have appeared that the business of the session had been principally secular, or, at least, had touched but lightly on theological controversy. Fresh war taxes were voted.[1] There were measures of law reform, and for the simplification of landed tenures. A remarkable Act stated that the laws of high treason had been made the instruments of private malice. Anonymous libels had been put in circulation, accusing innocent persons of having used seditious language against the King; and, to prevent the multiplication of calumnies and suspicions, any person or persons who should have published any such charges, and not come forward in his own name to prove his statements in the Star Chamber, should in future suffer death as a felon.[2] The Reformers obtained a victory in the dispensation from the vow of celibacy which was granted to the Knights of St John.[3] A commission was again appointed to revise the canon law; and married laymen were per-

[1] 37 Henry VIII. capp. 24, 25.

[2] Ibid. cap. 10. Details illustrative of the causes which occasioned this statute will be found in the *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. vii.

[3] 37 Henry VIII. cap. 31.

mitted to exercise jurisdiction in the ecclesiastical courts.[1]

The dissolution of the monasteries had shaken the stability of all other religious or semi-religious corporations. Grants for religious uses, of whatever description, were no longer supposed to be permanent; and the founders, or the representatives of the founders, of colleges, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, and guilds, had shown a disposition to resume their gifts. In some places the wardens or the occupiers had been expelled; in others sales had been effected by fraudulent collusion; in others the lands belonging to the foundations had been granted away in leases upon lives, the incumbents securing their personal interests by fines. Irregularities so considerable required interference, and, by a sweeping Act, all such properties were at once vested in the Crown, that the institutions to which they had belonged might be refounded on a fresh basis, if their continued existence was desirable.[2] A momentary panic was created at Oxford and Cambridge, where the colleges expected the fate of the religious houses; and Doctor Coxe, the prince's tutor, who was Dean of Christ Church, wrote, in some agitation, to Sir William Paget: 'Not,' he said, 'that I distrust the King's goodness, but because there are such a number of importunate wolves as are able to devour chauntries, cathedral churches, universities, and a thousand times as much.'[3] The alarm was

[1] 37 Henry VIII. cap. 17.
[2] Ibid. cap. 4.
[3] Lord Herbert, p. 254. Another letter of Dr Coxe, written a

natural, but it was unnecessary. The King's object was rather to preserve and to restore than to destroy,

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short time previously, containing an account of the character and education of the prince, may be added in this place. The MS. is much injured, and the name of the person to whom the letter was addressed is wanting.

'As concerning my lord and dear scholar, it is kindly done of you to desire so gently to hear from him and of his proceedings in his valiant conquests. We can now read, and God be thanked sufficiently; [and as] He hath prospered the King's Majesty in his travels at Boulogne, surely [in] like [manner thanks be] unto God, my lord is not much behind on his part. He hath expunged and utterly conquered a great number of the captains of ignorance. The eight parts of speech he hath made them his subjects and servants, and can decline any manner Latin nown, and conjugate a verb perfectly, unless it be anomalum. These parts thus beaten down and conquered, he beginneth to build them up again, and frame them after his purpose with due order of construction, like as the King's Majesty framed up Boulogne after he had beaten it down. He understandeth and can frame well his three concords of grammar, and hath made already forty or fifty pretty Latin verses, and can answer well favouredly to the parts, and is now ready to enter into Cato, to some proper and profitable fables of Æsop, and other wholesome and godly lessons that shall be devised for him. Every day in the mass time he readeth a portion of Solomon's Proverbs for the exercise of his reading, wherein he delighteth much; and learneth there how good it is to give ear unto discipline, to fear God, to keep God's commandments, to beware of strange and wanton women, to be obedient to father and mother, to be thankful to him that telleth him of his faults. Captain 'Will' was an ungracious fellow, whom to conquer I was almost in despair. I went upon him with fair means, with foul means, that is, with menacing from time to time, so long that he took such courage that he thought utterly my meaning to be nothing but dalliance. *Quid multa?* Before we came from Sutton, upon a day I took my morice pike, and at 'Will' I went, and gave him such a wound that he wist not what to do, but picked him privately out of the place that I never saw him since. Methought it the luckiest day that ever I had in battle. I think that only wound shall be enough for me to daunt both 'Will' and all his fellows. Howbeit, there is another cumbrous captain that appeareth out of his pavilion, called 'Oblivion,' who by labour and continuance of exercise shall be easily chased away. He is a vessel most apt to receive all goodness and learn-

and the scale and scope of his intentions were soon displayed so clearly as to dispel all uneasiness, by the foundation of the Hospital of St Bartholomew, and of Trinity College at Cambridge.

But the session, if the debates had been preserved to us, would have presented a less tranquil appearance than it wears in the records of its accomplished legislation. From the 'Journals of the House of Lords' we discover that, on the 27th of November, four days after the meeting of Parliament, a fresh heresy bill was brought forward in the Upper House.[1] It was referred to a committee, again brought in, discussed at length,[2] and again set aside for consideration; finally, it was passed without a dissentient voice, and sent down to the Commons, where it disappeared. No hint remains of the provisions of this bill. The objects of it are described as the abolition of heresies, and the suppression of certain books infected with false opinions. Perhaps it was some severe measure of arbitrary repression, introduced by the reactionaries; perhaps it was a moderate endeavour to check Anabaptist and Puritan excesses, and was withdrawn or relinquished from experience of the past feebleness of legislative interference with opinion. The progress of the bill may have been stopped by the Lower House; it may have been arrested by the Crown. But, at all events, the phenomenon of

November.

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ing, witty, sharp, and pleasant.'—Dr Coxe to ——; *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xvi.

[1] *Lords Journals*, 37 Henry VIII.

[2] 'Post longam examinationem.'—Ibid.

the attempt and of the failure is not a little remarkable, and connects itself with a memorable scene with which the session was closed. On the 24th of December, the King for the last time in his life appeared in Parliament for the prorogation. When the business was over and the address was presented, the chancellor was beginning as usual to reply in his name, when Henry unexpectedly rose from his seat, and, with a half-apology for the interruption, requested to be allowed to speak in his own person.[1]

December.

The address had contained the ordinary compliments to royalty. The King commenced by saying that he regarded such expressions rather as a point of rhetoric, to put him in remembrance of qualities lacking in him, which he would use his endeavours to obtain; and he trusted his hearers would help him with their prayers. If any point or iota of them were already in him, God was therefore to be thanked, and not he, from whom came all goodness and virtuous quality. He then thanked the Houses for their liberality in the grant of the subsidy, for which, however, he said, considering it was to be employed not for his own use, but for the safety of the commonwealth, he felt not so much obliged, as for the permission which they had given him to dispose as he should think good of the chantries and colleges.

[1] Two independent accounts of this speech remain: one is given by Hall, whose language implies that he was present: the other is in a letter of Sir John Mason to Paget, in MS. in the State Paper Office. The first is the longest, the second is the most interesting from the description of the manner in which the words were spoken and of the effect which they produced.

This measure he accepted as a proof of their confidence as well in his integrity as in his discretion; and they would see in the dispositions which he intended to make, that he desired to serve God faithfully, and to provide for the wants of the poor.

His manner was unusual. 'He spoke,' said Sir John Mason, 'so sententiously, so kingly, so rather fatherly,' that he was listened to with peculiar emotion.

He had spoken of the business of the session. He then paused—hesitated—his voice shook—he burst into tears.

The present, he said, was not the first time that his subjects had allowed him to see their affection for him; he trusted that they knew that, as their hearts were towards him, so was his heart towards them. One other thing there was, however, in which he could not work alone; and he must call upon them all to help him, in the name and for the honour of Almighty God.

'I hear,' he continued, 'that the special foundation of our religion being charity between man and man, it is so refrigerate[1] as there was never more dissension and lack of love between man and man, the occasions whereof are opinions only and names devised for the continuance of the same. Some are called Papists, some Lutherans, and some Anabaptists; names devised of the devil, and yet not fully without ground, for the severing of one man's heart by conceit of opinion from

[1] 'This was his term.'—Mason to Paget.

the other. For the remedy whereof, I desire, first, every man of himself to travel first for his own amendment. Secondly, I exhort the bishops and clergy, who are noted to be the salt and lamps of the world, by amending of their divisions, to give example to the rest, and to agree especially in their teaching—which, seeing there is but one truth and verity, they may easily do, calling therein for the aid of God. Finally, I exhort the nobles and the lay fee not to receive the grace of God in vain; and albeit, by the instinct of God, the Scriptures have been permitted unto them in the English tongue, yet not to take upon them the judgment and exposition of the same, but reverendly and humbly, with fear and dread, to receive and use the knowledge which it hath pleased God to show unto them, and in any doubt to resort unto the learned, or at best the higher powers. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverendly that precious jewel the Word of God is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern. This kind of man is depraved, and that kind of man; this ceremony and that ceremony. Of this I am sure, that charity was never so faint among you; and God Himself, amongst Christians, was never less reverenced, honoured, and served. Therefore, as I said before, be in charity one with another, like brother and brother. Have respect to the pleasing of God, and then I doubt not that love I spake of shall never be dissolved betwixt us. Then may I justly rejoice that thus long I have lived to see this day, and you, by verity, conscience, and charity between yourselves, may in this

point, as you be in divers others, accounted among the rest of the world as blessed men.'

With these words Henry passed down from the throne and departed. Many of his hearers had been overcome, like himself, and were in tears;[1] both in Parliament and the country a sensation was created, profound while it lasted; and perhaps it might have been more permanent in its effects, had not the remedy which the King prescribed been the exercise of the one virtue for ever unknown in controversies of religion. Yet, although the admonition was addressed to all sides, it was a declaration in favour of freedom. It prescribed toleration, which the Catholics considered to be a crime. It prescribed charity where they believed it to be their duty to hate. In January their alarm was increased by a circular prepared at the King's desire by Cranmer, forbidding the adoration of the cross on Palm Sunday and the ringing of bells on All-hallows Eve, which was a relic of Pagan superstition. Gardiner, who at the moment was busy completing at Brussels the revision of the treaty with the Emperor, succeeded in suspending for the moment the issue of the order. He assured the King that, if such an evidence of English tendencies was given to the world, his labours would be fruitless.[2] But the intention was none the

1546. January.

[1] His words, says Mason, 'to you that have been used to his daily talking, should have been no great wonder—and yet saw I some that hear him often enough largely water their plants—but to us that have not heard him often were such a joy and marvellous comfort, as I reckon this day one of the happiest of my life.' —Mason to Paget: *MS.*

[2] JENKINS's *Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 318, 319: FOXE, vol. v.

less alarming to the Bishop of Winchester's supporters, none the less encouraging to their opponents. The orthodox faction were still powerful. They had the law upon their side; the Duke of Norfolk stood by them, stoutly supported by Wriothesley, who was now chancellor, and the body of the peers. If they had failed in their late heresy bill, they had still the Six Articles to fall back upon; and as the King was as anxious as he had ever been to check the extravagances with which the Protestant preachers were outraging the prejudices of the people, they had the advantage of a defensive position, and they determined to use their power so long as it remained to them.

They had not long to wait for their opportunity. Many of the chantries had been suppressed under the late Act, and their disappearance, if left to its silent operation, would have carried its own lesson. Dr Crome, a loud advocate of the party of movement, with the appetite for inconvenient dilemmas which belongs so frequently to clever unwise men, preached a sermon at the Mercers' Chapel, in which he worked the statute into an argument against purgatory. Either, he said, the mass priests ought to have been maintained, and a wrong had been done to the souls of those who had left lands to support them, or the singing of masses by living men did not and could not affect the condition of those souls. The reasoning was unanswerable; but where a victory is to be gained over a deep-rooted prejudice, sensible men are contented with the acceptance of premises, and leave the conclusions to follow of them-

selves. The preacher was invited, by an order from the King, to explain himself at Paul's Cross. He was warned to be careful 'of his brethren in London; not to yield to their fantasies; and to beware that he said not that he came not to recant.'[1] He shuffled in the usual manner; he trifled as Jerome had trifled; and he was then summoned before the council, when he was compelled into a formal abjuration. May.

If the evil had rested with himself, his impatience would have met with a not undeserved reward; but the spirit of persecution once aroused, would not be appeased without a victim; and an attempt was next made to destroy a more formidable person.

Since his resignation of his bishopric, Latimer had remained in retirement; but his silence had not softened the exasperation which he had before provoked; Crome had received advice from him which might perhaps be heretical; he was sent for and examined.

More than once before, Latimer had been saved by the King. He was out of danger on the great point of transubstantiation, for he still adhered to the old belief; and in any lighter matter he felt that he might trust to the same support and defy the danger. The council 'ministered unto him an oath, with divers interrogatories.'[2] He would not answer them. It was dangerous, he said; and their proceeding was more extreme than if he lived under the Turk.[3] He was told that it was the King's will. He was altogether doubtful of that, he replied,

[1] *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 843.

[2] Ibid. p. 848, &c.

[3] Ibid.

'and desired to speak with his Majesty himself.' He had been told that it was the King's will that he should give up his bishopric; and he found afterwards that the King had willed nothing of the kind, and had 'pitied his condition.' He was rebuked for his disrespect, but he was very indifferent; and when pressed further with questions, 'he answered them,' the council said, 'in such sort as they were left as wise as they were before.'[1] A physician named Huick was next called in; but he imitated Latimer, and appealed. He drew up a statement of his belief in writing; but, in a purposed contempt of his examiners, he added to his answer that it was for the King only, and he desired that 'two or three gentlemen of the privy chamber' might take charge of it.[2]

The council laid the behaviour of the prisoners before Henry, and the Reformers seemed to be bent on making their protection as difficult as possible; but, so far as we can discover by the event, the appeal was allowed, and they were troubled no further. Except against those who were heretical on the eucharist, it was plain that no further persecution would be permitted; and even here the Bishop of Winchester felt his prey sliding from his grasp. His enemies were in Parliament, on the council board, in the royal household, perhaps on the throne itself; and it seems to have been on this occasion that an attempt was made against Henry's last Queen. Unvouched for, unalluded to by any contem-

[1] *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 848, &c. [2] Ibid.

porary authority as yet discovered, diluted through Protestant tradition for two generations, till it reached the ears of Foxe, the popular legend can pretend to no authenticity of detail. We can believe, however, that, if the Queen had been actively encouraging the more vehement forms of Protestantism in the palace, she must have added materially to the difficulties of the King's position; that Gardiner brought complaints against her; that the King examined into them, and finding that the story was either an invention, or was maliciously exaggerated, dismissed the accusers with a reproof, as he had dismissed them before in their attacks upon Cranmer.[1]

Success in a lower quarter, however, was still possible to the persecutors.[2] John Lascelles, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber,[3] had been examined with Crome and Latimer. He had declined to reply to the

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1 Foxe, vol. v. Foxe has weakened his story by a blunder in the only point on which we are able to test it. He connects the attack on the Queen with Gardiner's disgrace; and Gardiner's disgrace only followed on the discovery of Lord Surrey's designs upon the regency in the ensuing December.

2 The body of the Council certainly were acting with Gardiner. Latimer's examiners were Wriothesley, Norfolk, Essex, Sir John Gage, Sir Anthony Browne, Sir Anthony Wingfield, the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, and, strange to say, Lord Russell. On the other side were only the small but powerful minority, composed of Cranmer, Lord Parr, Lord Hertford, and Lord Lisle.—See *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 851.

3 Probably the same Lascelles who was mentioned as regretting the death of Cromwell, and perhaps the brother of the lady who revealed the iniquities of Catherine Howard, and who first carried the story to Cranmer. If he was indeed the same person, we can understand the animosity with which he must have been regarded by the Anglo-Catholics.

questions which were submitted to him unless he had a promise of the King's protection;[1] but while in prison he collected his courage, and wrote a deliberate denial of the real presence.[2] Three other persons were at the same time convicted of the same offence. Nicholas Belemian, a Shropshire priest, John Adams, a tailor, and a lady, the tragedy of whose martyrdom, being visible in all its details, overshadows the fate of her fellow-sufferers.

June. Anne, daughter of Sir William Ascue,[3] was born at Kelsey, in Lincolnshire. In her early youth or womanhood she must have remembered the rebellion in which her father was, perhaps, unwillingly implicated, and she must have lived surrounded by the passions which it had roused. She was married to a violent conservative, a gentleman named Kyme; but from some cause she was unable to follow in the track of her husband and father; she became a Protestant, and was disowned and disclaimed by them; and then we find that she was to be seen from time to time

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[1] Lascelles will not answer to that part of his conference with Crome that toucheth Scripture matters without he have the King's Majesty's express commandment, with his protection; for he saith it is neither wisdom or equity that he should kill himself.—*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 850.

[2] FOXE, vol. v. p. 551.

[3] The authority for the remarkable and otherwise incredible circumstances of Anne Ascue's persecution is a narrative, or rather a series of fragments, written by herself in the intervals of her harassing examinations, at the request of her friends These were printed by Foxe; though he does not say by what means they came into his hands, there is no reason to believe them forgeries; and the utmost value which can belong to internal evidence must be allowed to their unaffected simplicity.

in the aisles of Lincoln Cathedral reading the Bible, with groups of priests, in twos and threes, approaching to reason with her, 'yet going their ways again without words spoken.'[1] In March, 1545, she was first arrested in London. She was examined before the Lord Mayor, and afterwards brought before the Bishop of London. Bonner, who had a certain kind of coarse good nature amidst his many faults, treated her with courtesy. The Mayor had sent in a collection of idle exaggerated charges against her. Some of them she denied; some of them she passed over and avoided, and the Bishop would not press upon her hardly. He said that he was sorry for her trouble. If her conscience was disturbed, he trusted that she would be open with him, and no advantage should be taken of anything which she might say. When she declined to accept him for her confessor, he was ready to assist her to escape from her position. He drew up an orthodox formula on the real presence, which he desired her to sign. She took a pen, and wrote at the foot of the paper that she believed all manner of things contained in the faith of the Church; and, although irritated by the palpable evasion, Bonner allowed it to pass. She was remanded to prison for a few days, and then dismissed upon bail; and the Bishop, with, perhaps, a kinder purpose than that which Foxe attributes to him, of calumniating a Protestant saint, entered in his register that Anne Ascue had appeared before him, and had made an adequate profession of her belief

[1] Anne Ascue's Diary: FOXE, vol. v.

But her name was written among those who were to serve Heaven in their deaths rather than their lives. The following summer she was again seized and brought before the inquisitors, whose appetite had been sharpened by the escape of Latimer. The Gardiner and Wriothesley faction were now her judges. They required her to state explicitly her opinion on the eucharist; and she knew this time that they would either kill her or force her to deny her faith. 'She would not sing the Lord's song in a strange land,' she said; and when Gardiner told her that she spoke in parables, she answered as another had answered, 'If I tell you the truth, ye will not believe me.' She was questioned for five weary hours, but nothing could be extracted from her; and the day after, attempts were made to shake her resolution by private persuasion. The brilliant worldly Paget, to whom confessions of faith 'were no things to die for,' put out the eloquence which had foiled the diplomatists of Europe. His arguments fell off like arrows from enchanted armour. Lord Lisle and Lord Parr, who believed as she believed, tried to prevail on her to say as they said. 'It was shame for them,' she replied, 'to counsel contrary to their knowledge.' Gardiner told her she would be burnt. 'God,' she answered, 'laughed his threatenings to scorn.'

She was taken to Newgate, and, as if to insure her sentence with her own hands, she wrote—

'The bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a sacrament of thanksgiving for it. Written by me, Anne Ascue, that neither wish death, nor yet fear his

might, and as merry as one that is bound towards Heaven.'

Her formal trial followed at the Guildhall, where she reasserted the same belief: 'That which you call your God,' she said, 'is a piece of bread; for proof thereof let it lie in a box three months and it will be mouldy. I am persuaded it cannot be God.'

The duty of a judge is to decide by the law, not by his conscience. If there had been a desire to acquit, the judges had no choice before them. After sentence of death had been passed upon her she was taken back to prison, where she wrote a letter to the King, not asking for mercy, but firmly and nobly asserting that she was innocent of crime. She enclosed it under cover to Wriothesley. Whether the chancellor delivered it or kept it, the law was left to take its course.

But the execution was delayed. The Anglo-Catholics had gained but half their object, and they required evidence from her, if possible, which would implicate higher offenders. The state of the King's health made the prospect of a long minority more near and more certain. Lord Audeley and the Duke of Suffolk, who had held a middle place by the side of the King, had died in the past year. The two parties in the Government were more sharply divided and more anxious to shake each other's credit. A strange incident was connected with Anne Ascue's imprisonment. She was found in possession of more comforts than the customs of Newgate supplied: when she was required to confess how she obtained them, it appeared that 'her

maid went abroad into the streets and made moan to the prentices, and they by her did send in money.'[1] But this explanation, so touching in its simplicity, failed to satisfy her questioners. They suspected Hertford and Cranmer, and perhaps the Queen; and could they prove their complicity, they had insured their own victory and the ruin of their rivals. The condemned lady was taken from Newgate to the Tower, where the chancellor and the solicitor-general were waiting for her. She was asked if Lady Hertford, the Duchess of Suffolk, or Lady Fitzwilliam belonged to her sect. She refused to say. They told her that they knew she had been maintained by certain members of the council, and they must have their names. She was still silent. 'Then,' she says (and this is no late legend or lying tradition, but a mere truth related at first hand, from the pen of the sufferer herself), 'they did put me on the rack because I confessed no ladies or gentlemen to be of my opinion, and thereupon they kept me a long time; and because I lay still and did not cry, my Lord Chancellor and Master Rich[2] took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nigh dead.'[3] Sir Anthony Knyvet,

[1] Anne Ascue's Narrative.

[2] The Solicitor-General.

[3] 'I understand,' she wrote subsequently, 'the council is not a little displeased that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now that what they did then was but to fear me, whereby I perceived they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the King's Majesty should have information thereof.'—FOXE, vol. v. p. 548. The abominable cruelty of Wriothesley and Rich is perhaps the darkest page in the history of any English statesmen. Yet, as Wriothesley was a man who had shown at other times high and noble qualities, it is hard to believe that bigotry had entirely blinded

the Lieutenant of the Tower, lifted her off in his arms. She swooned, and was laid on the floor; and when she recovered, the chancellor remained two hours longer labouring to persuade her to recant. But, as she said, she thanked God she had strength left to persevere; she preferred to die, and to death they left her.[1]

On the 16th of July she was carried out with her three companions to the scene of so many horrors, and chained to a stake. Four members of the council, brought thither, it is to be said, by duty, not by curiosity or vindictiveness, took their places on a raised bench in front of St Bartholomew's Church, and when all preparations were completed, Shaxton, once the most troublesome of the Protestants, now, in the recoil of cowardice degenerate into a persecutor, preached a sermon. The sufferers listened calmly, and when the preacher ceased Wriothesley sent them their pardons on condition of recantation. But neither Anne nor July.

him to all feelings of humanity. It is possible that the rack was, as he said, employed rather to terrify than to torture, and he may have himself taken charge of it to prevent rather than to insure the active infliction of pain. Anne Ascue may have swooned from fear as well as suffering; and it is to be remarked that she sat two hours with Wriothesley immediately afterwards, 'reasoning with him,' which she could not have done if the screws had been severely strained. Foxe indeed says, that she had been so tortured that she was carried in a chair to the place of execution: but she may have been exhausted by general ill-treatment, and the fact of her two hours' conversation rests on her own authority.

[1] Foxe adds that Knyvet, as soon as they were gone, sprung immediately into a boat and hurried to Whitehall to the King, who expressed himself 'not pleased at the extreme handling of the woman.' Anne herself, however, as may be seen in the last note, said, that the council were afraid lest the King should hear how she had been treated.

her companions would even look at them. They merely said they were not come thither to deny their Lord and Master. The Mayor rose, and exclaimed, 'Fiat Justitia,' and the pile was lighted.

That the persecution had not been instigated by the King is evident from the whole tenor of his later years, and from the confidence with which all accused persons appealed to him. While these trials were going forward he was pressed by the bishops to issue a proclamation for the surrender of the forbidden volumes of Protestant theology. He consented, but he accompanied the order with a promise that no person who might bring in such volumes should be in danger for their possession under existing statutes; and he directed 'that no bishop, chancellor, commissary, sheriff, or constable should be curious to mark' who the persons were.[1] He had ceased to sympathize with bigotry; how far he had endeavoured to check it is as difficult to know, as the extent of his responsibility is difficult to measure. It is no easy thing for a sovereign, when he sees his way but doubtfully, to set aside the law, in the face of a powerful party. But, after these last executions, he seems to have been finally revolted, and to have shaken himself free, by a resolute effort, of the whole accursed superstition. The persecutors, who had extended their operations into the counties, as well as exerted themselves in the capital, proceeded in the confidence of success to seize another member of the household, Sir George Blage.

July 8.

[1] 'Royal Proclamation against unlawful books.'—FOXE, vol. v.

He was taken to the Guildhall, accused of heresy on the sacrament, tried and condemned. Only at the last moment Henry received an intimation of his servant's danger through Lord Russell; but he required him by a royal warrant to be instantly set at liberty.

The first step was followed up by a public evidence of his intentions far more marked. As long as he was embarrassed with the war his advances to the Germans were explained, and perhaps in their earlier stages had been caused, by political convenience. He was now himself at peace, and the danger from the Emperor, so long foreseen, was on the point of bursting upon Saxony. Their recent treatment of England had imposed but a slight obligation on the King to interfere to help the Lutheran princes. He now once more, as if to signify to his own subjects and to the world his resolution to go forward with the Reformation, offered to unite with them in a league offensive and defensive, to be called 'the League Christian.' Inasmuch as he would be called on for larger contributions than any other prince, he desired for himself the principal authority; but his object, he said, was 'nothing more than the sincere union and conjunction of them all together in one godly and Christian judgment and opinion in religion, following the Holy Scriptures or the determination of the Primitive Church' in the first general councils. He entreated again that their 'learned men' would come to England, and settle with him their minor differences, and 'so, they being united and knit together in one strength and religion, it might be called

August 30.

indeed a very Christian league and confederacy.'[1] At the same time he surprised Cranmer by telling him that he was prepared for the change at home of the mass into the modern communion.[2] The danger for which Anne of Cleves had been divorced, for which Cromwell had been hunted to death, which the whole energies of the Anglo-Catholics had for ten years been exerted to prevent, had returned at last, and, as it seemed, irresistibly. The Germans, indeed, were so blind to their peril as again to hesitate, and to demand impossible conditions. The false promises of the French betrayed them to their ruin.[3] But the King's intentions remained unaffected. Slow to resolve, he was never known to relinquish a resolution which once he had formed; and Elizabeth did but conclude and establish the changes which her father would have anticipated had another year of life been allowed to him.[4]

September.

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[1] Henry VIII. to Bruno: *State Papers*, vol. xi. pp. 281, 282.

[2] See FOXE, vol. v. p. 692: and JENKINS'S *Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 320.

[3] 'Unless the Protestants be succoured, the Cardinal du Bellay saith that *actum est de negotio evangelii*. . . . . We had long communication of this matter, and, among other things, when I said to him that, if the Protestants could have been contented with reason, peradventure they might have been in league with us ere this. Marry, it is true, quoth he; but to speak frankly with you, they durst not for fear of us, for if they had so done without us we threatened to be against them too: and then, they, being loath to refuse directly your amity, did demand such things of you as they knew you would not grant unto.'—Wotton to Paget: *State Papers*, vol. xi. pp. 354, 355.

[4] I say Elizabeth, rather than Cranmer and Hertford; for the Reformation under Edward VI. was conducted in another spirit. Hertford, however, knew what Henry's intentions were, and partially if not wholly fulfilled them. He wrote to Mary on her complaint of the changes which he had introduced, saying that 'his Grace died before

But time was soon to exist no more for Henry. Well done or ill, his work on earth was nearly finished. In a few more weeks he was to die. It was evident to himself and to all about him that the end was near. The wound in his leg had deepened and spread: he could no longer walk or stand, but he reclined upon a couch and was wheeled from room to room. His death might easily be close at hand. It could not be distant. Under such circumstances what were the prospects of the kingdom? The prince was but nine years old; and the saying 'Woe to the land where the king is a child,' was at that moment signally illustrated in the misery of Scotland. The baby-queen was a plaything, as Henry described it, 'among a sort of wolves'—was that to be the fortune of the boy for whom he and his country had so passionately longed? The Earl of Hertford was the person on whose natural affection he could most surely calculate; and Hertford was true to the Reformation. But a protectorate in the hands of a leader of one of two great parties regarding each other with the animosity which only religion could inspire, was a precarious experiment, and there were personal objections to the choice of no inconsiderable magnitude. November.

Hertford was hated as a *parvenu* by the old nobility, and by the smaller landowners, who with feudal deference accepted their opinions from the aristocracy; he

he had fully finished such order as he was minded to have established if death had not prevented him. Religion was not established as he purposed, and a great many knew and could testify what he would further have done in it had he lived.' —STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 601.

was dreaded as a heretic by the whole body of the conservatives, whether laity or clergy. His popularity with the army which he had gained by his military successes, and the support of the enthusiastic but ungovernable Reformers, might have enabled him to make head as a leader in civil war, but would assist him little in carrying on the Government. Nor is it likely that the King could wholly place confidence in him. Able without being wise, the Earl possessed precisely the qualities which would be most dangerous to him if trusted with power in an arduous crisis.

Had the conservatives been prudent, they had a fair game in their hands; a power so great as to have compelled Henry VIII. to temporize with it would have recovered its influence with little difficulty in the necessary weakness of a minority. But, either their own hasty anxiety, or the headstrong ambition of one of their leaders, betrayed their interests prematurely, and secured the easy accomplishment of a Protestant revolution. In relating the story of the trial and execution of Lord Surrey, which historians have unanimously described as a gratuitous murder, it will be desirable for me to state with much nakedness the grounds on which I have formed a different opinion.

During the discussions on the succession which had preceded and occasioned the divorce of Queen Catherine, the Duke of Norfolk had been spoken of among those who were likely, in the event of the King's death, to succeed to the crown.[1] Any hopes which he might

[1] See GIUSTINIANI'S *Letters from the Court of Henry VIII.*

have formed disappeared necessarily with the birth of the prince; but he remained one of the most powerful noblemen in England, and since the death of the Duke of Suffolk was without an equal in rank among the peers. He consistently declared and consistently conducted himself as the champion of Catholic doctrine.[1] His expressions on the fall of Cromwell betrayed a regret even for the separation from the Papacy,[2]—as indeed the Anglicans generally were learning that there was no true standing ground for opinions divorced from their natural connection. To his father's hereditary sentiments Lord Surrey added a more than hereditary scorn of the 'new men' whom the change of times was bringing like the scum to the surface of the State, and an ambition which no portion of his father's prudence taught him to restrain. With brilliant genius, with reckless courage, with a pride which would brook no superior, he united a careless extravagance which had crippled him with debt, and a looseness of habit which had brought him unfavourably under the notice of the Government. So far a brief imprisonment had been considered sufficient punishment for an ordinary folly. He had done good service abroad, which the defeat at St Etienne had but partially eclipsed. There is no appearance that suspicion of any kind continued to attach to him.

December.

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[1] 'I know not that I have offended any man, or that any man was offended with me, unless it were such as were angry with me for being quick against the sacramentaries.' —Duke of Norfolk to Henry VIII.: Lord Herbert, p. 265.

[2] *Vide supra*, vol. iii. p. 446.

Suddenly, however, there was a change. At the end of November, 1546, when the King's illness was notoriously dangerous, and he was in greatest embarrassment as to the settlement of the kingdom, it became known that the young lord had made an alteration in his shield; that where he was entitled to bear the arms of England in the second quarter, as a collateral descendant of the Plantagenets, he had assumed the quarterings which belonged especially and only to the heir-apparent to the throne.[1] The Earl of Surrey's arms was not a subject entirely new. We may feel assured that, when the riot was inquired into, the remarks of his friends upon his family and his prospects had not been overlooked.[2] A new and extraordinary affectation in the same matter naturally attracted notice. Questions were asked at the College of Heralds, where it appeared that Lord Surrey had inquired whether he might legitimately assume the royal bearings. He had been told, it was found, that he might not assume them; he had insisted that he would, and he had been served in consequence with a formal inhibition.[3] A light matter became a large one, when it had been pursued with so peculiar obstinacy. Vanity alone could not have prompted conduct which was technically high treason, when the nature of it was so clearly understood. Suspicion being once aroused, many lips were immediately

[1] *Baga de Secretis; State Papers*, vol. i. p. 891. Act of Attainder of the Earl of Surrey and the Duke of Norfolk.

[2] Vol. iii. p. 590.

[3] Depositions on Lord Surrey's Treasons: *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xix.

opened which the fear of Norfolk's family had hitherto kept sealed.

'Sir Edmund Warner, being commanded by Sir William Paget to put in writing all such words and communications as had heretofore been betwixt him and the Earl of Surrey that might in any wise touch the King's Highness and his posterity, or of any other person, what he had heard of the said Earl that might in any wise tend to the same effect, deposed, that of the Earl himself he had heard nothing; but in the summer last past Mr Devereux did tell him upon certain communications of the pride and vain-glory of the said Earl, that it was possible it might be abated one day; and when he, Sir Edmund Warner, asked what he meant thereby, he said, what if he were accused to the King that he should say, 'if God should call the King to his mercy, who were so meet to govern the prince as my lord his father?'' [1]

Sir Edward Rogers, being examined, deposed—

'Sir George Blage was in communication with the Earl and me, and the Earl entered in question with Blage, or Blage with the Earl, who were meetest to have the rule and governance of the prince in case God should disclose his pleasure on the King's Majesty. Blage said he thought meetest such as his Highness should appoint. The Earl contrarywise said that his father was the meetest personage to be deputed to that room, as well in respect of the good service that he had done as also for his estate. Blage answered, saying, he

[1] Examination of Sir Edmund Warner: *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xix.

trusted never to see that day, and that the prince should be but evil taught if he were of his father's teaching; and further, in multiplying of words, said plainly to the Earl that, rather than it should come to pass that the prince should be under the governance of his father or you, I would bide the adventure to thrust this dagger in you. The Earl said he was very hasty, and God sent a shrewd cow short horns. 'Yea, my lord,' quoth Blage, 'and I trust your horns also shall be kept so short as you shall not be able to do hurt with them;' and thus they departed in choler.'[1]

Sir George Blage's intemperance may be accounted for by his escape from the destination in Smithfield, which Norfolk's party had intended for him. It is easy from these fragments of evidence to gather that Surrey had for some time been speculating on a Norfolk regency. The prize was one for which he might naturally hope, for which ambition and the interests of his party would alike tempt him to strike; and it would be a recompense for the shadow under which his family had suffered since Catherine Howard had disgraced them.

But a darker charge against him was next to follow.

'Sir Gawin Carew, examined, said that my Lady of Richmond[2] had discovered unto him as strange a practice of her brother as ever he heard of, which was that the

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[1] Examination of Sir Edward Rogers: *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xix.

[2] Widow of Henry Fitz Roy, Duke of Richmond, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, and sister of Surrey.

aforesaid Earl, pretending the farce of a marriage to have succeeded between Sir Thomas Seymour and the said lady, did will and advise her that what time the King's Majesty should send for her (as it should be brought about that the King's Highness should move her in that behalf), she should so order herself as neither she should seem to grant nor to deny that his Majesty did will her unto, but rather to so temper her tale as his Highness might thereby have occasion to send for her again, and so possibly that his Majesty might cast some love unto her, whereby in process she should bear as great a stroke about him as Madame d'Estampes did about the French King.'[1]

Another witness confirmed Carew's story. At the time when the proposition was made, when there was no thought of a prosecution of Surrey, Lady Richmond had complained of his language to her with abhorrence and disgust, and had added, 'that she defied her brother, and said that they should all perish, and she would cut her own throat, rather than she would consent to such a villany.'[2]

It was proved further, that Surrey had used violent and menacing language against Hertford, who had superseded him at Boulogne, and had been sent to retrieve his blunders; and, more suspiciously, that one of his servants had been in secret communication with Cardinal Pole in Italy.

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[1] Examination of Sir Gawin Carew: *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xix.

[2] *MS.* Ibid.

Dec. 12. This evidence was collected in the first and second weeks in December. Surrey and the Duke were immediately arrested, and the personal attendance of Lady Richmond being of course indispensable, Sir John Gates and Sir Richard Southwell were sent down for her into Norfolk to Keninghall, and were directed to bring with her at the same time a certain Elizabeth Holland, an ambiguous favourite of the Duke who resided with his family.[1]

Lady Richmond, on learning the object of their visit, at first almost fainted. As soon as she could collect herself she fell on her knees and declared that she had always believed her father to be loyal. Her brother, she said, was a rash young man; but she would tell all that she knew, she would conceal nothing.[2] The two ladies were brought immediately to London. Elizabeth Holland's depositions, when taken before the council, chiefly affected the Duke. He was not responsible for the alteration of the arms, for which, she said, he had censured Surrey; but he had spoken violently and

[1] The only information which we possess about this lady is in the letters of the mad Duchess of Norfolk, the daughter of the Duke of Buckingham; and little credit can be attached to stories which are tinged with a manifest insanity. On one occasion the Duchess says that Elizabeth Holland was originally a laundry-maid at Keninghall, and that Norfolk took her for his mistress. Elsewhere she describes her as a near relative of Lord Hussey, who was under her husband's protection. Both statsments are accompanied with descriptions of family quarrels, monstrous in themselves and refuted by the Duke's solemn denial; and it is an important feature in the case that both Surrey and his sister were on the father's side. The letters are among the *Cotton MSS.*, and are many of them printed by Nott in an appendix to his *Life of Surrey*.

[2] *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 888, &c.

bitterly of his opponents on the council. They hated him, he had said, because he was true to the Church and the faith, and was an enemy of heretics. The King did not love him, and had withdrawn his confidence from him; but the King would soon die, and the realm would be in confusion, and the less others set by him, the more he would set by himself.[1]

Lady Richmond threw a shield over her father; but against her brother her evidence told fatally. She confirmed the story of the abominable advice which he had given her. She revealed his deep hate of the 'new men,' who, 'when the King was dead,' he had sworn, 'should smart for it.' The painful appearance of a sister bearing witness against her own blood, loses its offensiveness in the outrage which Surrey had dared upon her honour.[2]

Meantime other secrets came to light. The Duke of Norfolk's midnight visits to Marillac were now for the first time made known to the Government, and threw light upon many past difficulties; and next it was said that Gardiner, when at Brussels, had planned a secret scheme with Granvelle for the restoration of the Papal authority in England; that Norfolk was privy to their intentions, and that they had been even aware of the treachery explained in Guzman's letter to the Emperor.[3] The visits to Marillac could be proved, and, being an unexplained mystery, gave credit to what were

[1] Deposition: *MS. State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. xix.

[2] *MS.* Ibid.

[3] Duke of Norfolk to the Lords of the Council: NOTT'S *Surrey*, appendix, p. 99.

perhaps but inventions. Truth and falsehood, suspicion and certainty, gathered up in one black ominous thundercloud.

The Duke made no attempt to save Surrey. He knew the schemes which had been formed, and he felt that it was idle to deny them. He contented himself with declaring his own innocence of bad intentions, and his ignorance of the intrigues of Gardiner. He drew up a confession, in which he acknowledged that he had criminally concealed the dangerous purposes of his son, and that, for himself, 'contrary to his duty and allegiance, he had at divers times, and to divers persons, disclosed secrets of the privy council, to the King's peril;[1] for which offence he deserved to be attainted of high treason.' But in a letter to the council, he protested vehemently his general fidelity. To the King he declared that he was conscious of no real fault, unless his hatred of 'sacramentaries' was a fault.[2] He insisted on his services; he disowned any leaning to the Papacy.[3] He seemed to fear that the same measure would be dealt to him which he had dealt to Cromwell, and that he would be attainted and condemned without trial. Yet, even so, he said, Cromwell had been heard

[1] Printed by Lord Herbert, p. 265.

[2] Norfolk to the King: LORD HERBERT, ibid.

[3] Perhaps truly; but if Surrey had succeeded, events would have probably, or assuredly, fallen into the course which they assumed under Mary, as the instinct of the sacramentaries told them. 'There was a nobleman in England,' wrote one of them to Bullinger, 'commonly called the Duke of Norfolk, who was a most bitter enemy to the Word of God, and who, with his son and others, made a secret attempt to restore the dominion of the Pope and the monks.'—*Original Letters*, p. 639.

by the council; and though he might claim better treatment than had suited the deserts of a plebeian upstart, at least he desired that he might have no worse, and that Henry or the council would hear him.

Parliament was called at once, and circulars, as usual in such cases, were sent to the foreign ambassadors. The substance of the effect which they produced may be gathered from a letter of the Bishop of Westminster, who was then in Germany, to Paget.

'I would write unto you my heart if I could,' he said, 'against those two ungracious ingrate and inhuman *non homines* the Duke of Norfolk and his son; the elder of whom I confess that I did love, for that I ever supposed him a true servant to his master, like as both his allegiance and the manifold benefits of the King's Majesty bound him to have been. Before God I am so amazed at the matter that I know not what to say; therefore I shall leave them to receive for their deeds as they have worthily deserved, and thank God for his grace that hath opened this in time, so that the King's Majesty may see it reformed. Almighty God hath not now alone, but often and sundry times heretofore, not only letted the malice of such as hath imagined any treason against the King's Majesty, but hath so wonderfully manifested it, and in such time, that his Majesty's high wisdom might let that malice to take its effect. . . . All good Englishmen cannot herefor thank God enough, and for our part I pray God that we may, through his grace, so continue his servants, that hereafter we be not found unworthy to receive such a benefit at his hands.

. . . . To the King's Majesty herein I dare not write, for to enter the matter and not to detest it, as the case requireth, I think it not convenient; and, on the other side, to renew the memory of these men's ingratitude, wherewith noble and princely hearts above all others be soon wounded, I think it not wisdom.'[1]

The Duke of Norfolk was aware of Surrey's intentions. How far he had committed himself to active participation in them may remain uncertain. For the Earl, as his sister's evidence places him beyond the reach of interest and almost of compassion, so no injustice is done to him if we conclude that he was ready to employ any means, however unworthy, to gain an influence over the King; that when Lady Richmond refused to be his instrument, he intended, on Henry's death, to claim the supreme power for Norfolk or himself as the right of their birth; that in the alteration of his arms he was placing prominently forward his connection with the blood-royal to give force to his assumption, and to assist him in taking his place as the premier nobleman of the ancient blood of England. This was the interpretation which at the time was assigned to his conduct; and as his success would have involved the triumph of the faction who had been

[1] Thirlby to Paget: *State Papers*, vol. xi. p. 391. Dr Wotton also spoke of 'the devilish purpose of them that maliciously and traitorously conspired.' He was then at the French Court, and Francis inquired minutely into the circumstances. He asked if the treason was proved. Wotton said it was; and that Surrey had confessed 'both against himself and against his father too.' So far as I know, this is the only hint of a confession from Surrey.—Ibid. p. 388.

straining their utmost to anticipate the Marian persecution, there is little to regret if the King saw no reason to look leniently on the insolent ambition which would have ruined a great cause, and filled England with the blood of innocents.

A paper of considerations, written partly by Henry himself,[1] implies a belief that Surrey had even thought of setting the Prince of Wales aside and seizing the throne. 'If a man coming *of the collateral line to the heir* of the crown, who ought *not* to bear the arms of England *but on* the second quarter, with the difference of their ancestry, do presume to change his right place, and bear them on the first quarter, leaving out the true difference of the ancestry, and in the lieu thereof uses *the very place* only of the heir-apparent, *how this man's intent is to be judged, and whether this* impute any danger, peril, or slander to the title of the prince, and how it weigheth in our laws?

'If a man *presume* to take into his arms an old coat of the crown, *which his ancestors never bare, nor he of right ought to bear*, and use it without a difference, whether it may be to the peril or slander of the very heir of the crown, or be taken to tend to his disturbance in the same, and in what peril they be that consent that he should do so?

'*If a man compassing with himself to govern the realm* do actually *go about* to rule the King, and should for that purpose advise his daughter or his sister to become

[1] The words in italics are the King's. They are alterations made by him in the original draft. The writing is tremulous and irregular.

his harlot, thinking thereby to bring it to pass, and so would rule both father and son, what this importeth?

'If a man say these words, 'If the King die, who should have the rule of the prince but my father or I?' what it importeth?

'If a man say these words of a man or a woman of the realm, 'If the King were dead, I would shortly shut him up,' what it importeth?

'If a man, provoked or compelled by his duty of allegiance, shall declare such matters as he heareth touching the King, and shall after be continually threatened by the person accused to be killed or hurt for it, what it importeth?'[1]

The last of these questions refers to something of which the evidence is lost; the second to a right pretended by Surrey to bear the arms of Edward the Confessor. Whether the extremity of suspicion was justified is of little importance. Enough had been proved to bring Surrey under the letter of the treason law, and to make him far more than guilty under the spirit of it. He had played for a high stake; he had failed, and had now to pay the forfeit. On the 13th of January,[2] the day before the meeting of Parliament, he was tried before a special commission at the Guildhall; and, after a rhetorical defence, he was found guilty, sentenced, and executed.[3]

1547. Jan. 13.

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[1] *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 891.

[2] The Duke of Norfolk's confession is dated the 12th.—*See* LORD HERBERT.

[3] See NOTT'S *Surrey:* an epitome of the trial is in the *Baga de Secretis.*

The Duke of Norfolk escaped a trial, but he was not to escape attainder. Immediately on the assembly of the Houses, the subject, by the King's desire, was brought before them, and they were requested to lose no time in proceeding with it. In the absence of proof, it cannot be said with certainty that Norfolk's death was not intended; but his long services perhaps pleaded in extenuation of his lighter guilt; and the causes which the King alleged for haste, point to another motive than a wish to shed blood. Feeling his end to be very near, he desired, as the best security for the prince's succession, to see him before he left the world created Prince of Wales and crowned. Every high officer of State had his place in the ceremony; and it was necessary to bestow elsewhere the dignities which Norfolk held, and of which the attainder would significantly deprive him.[1] A message to this effect was delivered to the Parliament by the chancellor, Thursday, on the morning of the 27th of January. The Jan. 27. bill had already passed both Lords and Commons; the royal assent only was wanting; and the King, too ill to attend, had sent down a commission empowering the

[1] 'Hoc die Jovis, 27° Januarii, Dominus cancellarius admonuit omnes proceres utriusque ordinis suas Parliamentares Robas induere ac deinde Prolocutorem Milites et Burgenses omnes vocari jussit e Domo Communi, quo facto idem Cancellarius palam declaravit visum esse Regiæ Majestati ob certas quasdam causas specialiter moventes, ut sine ullâ dilatione expediatur Billa quædam pro attincturâ Thomæ Ducis Norff. et Henrici Comitis Surrey, *maxime vero ut officia quædam dicti Ducis in alios conferri possent et pleno jure per alios exerceri, in sacratissimam solemnitatem coronationis Edwardi Principis quæ jam instat.*' —*Lords Journals*, 38 Henry VIII.

chancellor to give his sanction. The order was read. The clerk of the Upper House at the close pronounced the customary words—*soit faict comme il est desiré.*

Friday, Jan. 28. The peers, knights, and burgesses departed to their houses. On the day which followed they met as usual for despatch of business; but their business was a form; they were no longer a Parliament.[1] On the same morning, an hour after midnight, Henry VIII. had died. Late on Thursday evening the symptoms had become rapidly worse. He was asked which of his bishops he desired to see. He answered Cranmer. The Archbishop was sent for, but there was some delay; and when he reached Whitehall, the King, though conscious, was speechless. Cranmer, 'speaking comfortably to him, desired him to give him some token that he put his trust in God through Jesus Christ; therewith the King wrung hard the Archbishop's hand,' and expired.[2]

The great event was come; and what would follow? Had it occurred a few weeks sooner it would have been the signal of confusion, persecution, perhaps insurrection and civil war. The peril was escaped for the moment; but whether for the moment only might depend on the foresight of the sovereign, who being dead was yet to

[1] It has been conjectured that the delay in communicating the King's death was caused by a discussion in the council on the fate of the Duke of Norfolk. It is far more likely that, the suddenness of the end having taken the council by surprise, they were examining the will, and considering how to carry out the dispositions which had been made for the Government.

[2] STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 199.

speak; who had been empowered by the confidence of the country to order the succession, and to direct the form of the Government which was to rule the minority of the prince.

The will was produced. It was dated on the 30th of December, four weeks before, though there is reason to think it had been drawn in its leading features when the King crossed to Boulogne;[1] and that only a few clauses were afterwards altered and certain names omitted. The formal bequests have long been satisfied or defeated. The wisdom or errors of the political provisions have been tried at the bar of time, and the verdict has been pronounced for centuries. But the last words of a remarkable man may still be studied as a reflex of his character and convictions, and as shedding some light upon a disposition which an altered age will never fully comprehend, but which is pregnant with indirect suggestions.

THE WILL OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

'In the name of God and of the Glorious and Blessed Virgin our Lady St Mary, and of all the Holy Company of heaven,—

'We, Henry, by the Grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth immediately under God the Supreme Head of the Church of England and of Ireland, of that name the Eighth, calling to our remembrance the great gifts and

[1] See FOXE, vol. v.

benefits of Almighty God given unto us in this transitory life, give unto him our most lowly and humble thanks, knowledging ourself insufficient in any part to deserve or recompense the same, but fear that we have not worthily received the same;—

'And considering further, also, with ourself, that we be as all mankind is, mortal and born in sin, believing, nevertheless, and hoping that every Christian creature, living here in this transitory and wretched world under God, dying in steadfast and perfect faith, endeavouring and exercising himself to execute in his lifetime, if he have leisure, such good deeds and charitable works as Scripture commendeth, and as may be to the honour and pleasure of God, is ordained by Christ's passion to be saved and to obtain eternal life, of which number we verily trust by his grace to be one; and that every creature, the more high that he is in estate, honour, and authority in this world, the more he is bound to love, serve, and thank God, and the more diligently to endeavour himself to do good and charitable works to the laud, honour, and praise of Almighty God, and the profit of his soul;—

'Also calling to our remembrance the dignity, estate, honour, rule, and governance, that Almighty God hath called us into this world, and that neither we nor any other creature mortal knoweth the time nor place when nor where it shall please Almighty God to call him out of this transitory world;—willing, therefore, and minding, before our passage out of the same, to dispose and order our latter mind, will, and testament, in that sort

as we trust it shall be acceptable to Almighty God, our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the whole company of heaven, and the due satisfaction of all godly brethren on earth, we therefore, now being of whole and perfect mind, adhering wholly to the right faith of Christ and his doctrine, repenting also our old and detestable life, and being in perfect will and mind by his grace never to return to the same nor such like, and minding by God's grace never to vary therefrom as long as any remembrance, breath, or inward knowledge doth or may remain within this mortal body, most humbly and heartily do commend and bequeath our soul to Almighty God, who in person of the Son redeemed the same with his most precious body and blood in time of his passion; and for our better remembrance thereof,[1] hath left here with us, in his Church militant, the consecration and administration of his precious body and blood to our no little consolation and comfort, if we as thankfully accept the same as He lovingly and undeserved on man's behalf hath ordained it for our only benefit and not his.

'Also we do instantly require and desire the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, with all the holy company of heaven, continually to pray for us and with us while we live in this world and in the time of passing out of the same, that we may the sooner attain everlasting life after our departure out of this transitory life, which we do both hope and claim by Christ's passion and word.

'And as for my body which, when the soul is de-

[1] The careful reader will observe this language.

parted, shall then remain but as a *cadaver*, and so return to the vile matter it was made of, were it not for the room and dignity which God hath called us unto, and that we would not be noted an infringer of honest worldly policies and customs where they be not contrary to God's laws, we would be content to have it buried in any place accustomed for Christian folks, were it never so vile, for it is but ashes, and to ashes it shall again. Nevertheless, because we would be loath, in the reputation of the people, to do injury to the dignity which we unworthily are called unto, we are content and do will and ordain that our body be buried and interred in the quire of our college at Windsor, midway between the stalls and the high altar; and there to be made and set as soon as conveniently may be done after our decease by our executors at our cost and charges, if it be not done by us in our lifetime, an honourable tomb for our bodies to rest in, with a fair grate about it, in which we will that the bones and body of our true and loving wife Queen Jane be put also; and there be provided, made, and set a convenient altar, honourably prepared and apparelled with all manner of things requisite and necessary for daily masses there to be said perpetually while the world shall endure. Also we will that the tombs and altars of King Henry VI., and also of King Edward IV., our great uncle and grandfather, be made more princely in the same place where they now be at our charges; and, also, we will and specially desire that when and wheresoever it shall please God to call us out of this world

transitory, to his infinite mercy and grace, be it beyond the sea,[1] or in any other place without or within our realm of England, that our executors shall cause all divine service accustomed for dead folk to be celebrated for us in the next and most proper place where it shall fortune us to depart.

'And over that we will that our executors, in as goodly, brief, and convenient haste as they reasonably can or may, ordain and cause our body to be removed into our said college at Windsor, and the service of *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with a sermon and mass on the morrow, at our costs and charges, devoutly to be done and solemnly kept, there to be buried and interred in the place appointed for our said tomb; and all this to be done in as devout wise as can or may be done. And we will and charge our executors that they dispose and give in alms to the most poor and needy people that may be found (common beggars as much as may be avoided) in as short a space as possibly they may after our departure out of this transitory life, one thousand marks of lawful money of England, part in the place where it shall please Almighty God to call us to his mercy, part by the way, and part in the place of our burial, after their discretion; and to move the poor

[1] In anticipation of his possible death in the war. The expression confirms the belief that the will was written in 1544; and the date perhaps explains the direction for the masses which were to be said at his tomb. The final advances in the King's mind belong to the two concluding years of his life. But, as he said himself, 'he would not be noted as an infringer of worldly policies and customs when they were not contrary to God's law.'

people that shall have our alms to pray heartily unto God for remission of our offences and the wealth of our soul.'

Lands and spiritual promotions, to the value of six hundred pounds a year, were then left to the dean and canons of St George's, to provide for the services at the altars, for annual alms to the poor, and for the support of thirteen poor knights, to be called the Knights of Windsor; and after these personal dispositions followed the orders for the settlement of the realm.

The crown was bequeathed to the prince and his issue, or, in default of such issue, to his own heirs, lawfully begotten of his entirely beloved wife Queen Catherine, or any other lawful wife whom he might hereafter marry. 'For lack of such issue and heirs' it was to descend, in compliance with the Act of Parliament, to the Lady Mary and her heirs, and next to Elizabeth and her heirs, provided they married not without the consent of their brother, or of the council to be named for his guardianship. If his own blood failed wholly, the Scottish line was passed over, and the persons next named were the children of the two daughters of his sister Mary, the late Duchess of Suffolk.

In the Government, during the minority, Henry desired the same moderately progressive spirit to prevail which had hitherto directed his own conduct; and, finding no single person whom he could trust, he committed his powers to the representatives of both the parties who had formed his own council. Gardiner's name had been

in the list, but he had been compromised in the late conspiracy. The reformers were represented by Cranmer and Hertford and Lisle; the conservatives by the Bishop of Durham, the Chancellor, and Sir Anthony Brown. The remainder[1] represented the intervening shades of opinion, whose judgment had been formed by the King himself; and who, having been trusted with the secrets of his further intentions, might follow in the track which he had marked for them. Whatever man could do to ensure the rational progress of the revolution, was provided by these nominations. The King, in leaving his last instructions for their guidance, 'exhorted them in God's name that, for the singular trust and special confidence which he had in them, they would have a diligent eye, perfect zeal, love, and affection to the honour, surety, and estate of his son, and the good prosperity of the realm;' and his last wish was that 'all his trusty and assured servants, and all other his loving subjects, would aid and assist his said councillors in the performance of that his testament and last will, as they would answer before God at the day of judgment *cum venerit judicare mortuos et vivos*.'[2]

An adjuration as vain as it was earnest: when the presiding will was gone and the presiding arm was withered, the advice was but as the wind. The years

[1] Lord St John president of the council, Lord Russell, Sir Edward North chancellor of the augmentations, three of the judges, Sir Edward Montague, Sir Thomas Bromley, and Sir William Herbert, Sir Anthony Denny a member of the household, Sir William Paget, and the two Wottons, Dr Wotton and his brother Sir Edward.

[2] Rymer, vol. vi. part 3, p. 142.

which followed witnessed the alternate supremacy of factions, where selfishness walked hand in hand with fanaticism, where petty passions disguised themselves under sacred names; and the just discontent of the nation with the reformers was allayed only at last when reaction had brought with it a bitter recompense of persecution, and the spirit of the dead King at length revived in Elizabeth. The true commentary on the Government of Henry VIII. is to be looked for in the reigns of his immediate successors. I know not whether I need add any other. To draw conclusions is the business of the reader. It has been mine to search for the facts among statutes and State Papers misinterpreted through natural prejudice and imperfect knowledge, and among neglected manuscripts fast perishing of decay.

But, as it would be affectation to seem to be unconscious that the character of the King, as presented in these volumes, is something different from that which modern tradition has ascribed to him, so for my own sake I desire to say that I have not advanced any novel paradox or conjectures of my own. The history of the reign of Henry VIII. is a palimpsest in which the original writing can still be read; and I have endeavoured only to reinstate the judgment upon his motives and his actions—which was entertained by all moderate Englishmen in his own and the succeeding generation—which was displaced only by the calumnies of Catholic or Antinomian fanatics, when the true records were out of sight; and when, in the establishment

of a new order of things, the hesitating movements, the inconsistencies and difficulties, inevitable in a period of transition could no longer be understood without an effort.

The following passage, written by Ulpian Fulwell early in the reign of Elizabeth, must be received with much qualification. From the language of contemporary panegyric later reflection must ever find something to detract: nor was the writer a person whose judgment is of exceptional or particular value. His words, nevertheless, may be taken to express the general admiration of the King's character which survived in the minds of the people.

'Among the most fortunate kings and princes that ever reigned let the fortunes of King Henry VIII. have a special place. This I may boldly say, that he was blest of God above all kings and princes that ever I have read of, and happy was that prince that might stand most in his favour; for the which divers made great suit, and especially when they stood in need of aid against their enemies, because they perceived that fortune followed his power as handmaid to all his proceedings. A rare example no doubt it is, and meseemeth most strange, that one king should reign thirty-eight years, and that almost in continual wars, and never take foil, but always prevailed as a victor invicted, which, without the assistance of Almighty God, he could never have achieved; an evident token that God was on his side, and therefore who could stand against him. To write at large of all his worthiness and in-

comparable acts would fill a volume, and were too great a charge. But he was a prince of singular prudence, of passing stout courage, of invincible fortitude, of dexterity wonderful. He was a springing well of eloquence, a rare spectacle of humanity; of civility and good nature an absolute precedent, a special pattern of clemency and moderation, a worthy example of regal justice, a bottomless spring of largess and benignity. He was in all the honest arts and faculties profoundly seen, in all liberal discipline equal with the best, in no kind of literature inexpert. He was to the world an ornament, to England a treasure, to his friends a comfort, to his foes a terrour, to his faithful and loving subjects a tender father, to innocents a sure protector, to wilful malefactors a sharp scourge, to his common weal and good people a quiet haven and anchor of safeguard, to the disturbers of the same a rock of extermination. In heinous and intolerable crimes against the commonwealth a severe judge, in like offences committed against himself a ready port and refuge of mercy, except to such as would persist incorrigibly. A man he was in gifts of nature and of grace peerless; and, to conclude, a man above all praises. Such a King did God set to reign over England; whereof this realm may well vaunt above other nations.'[1]

This is the portrait drawn without its shadows; yet the features described in the language of admiring exaggeration resemble the true image far more closely than

[1] ULPIAN FULWELL'S *Flower of Fame.*

the extravagant conception which floats in the modern belief. It is easy to understand how such a conception grew. Protestants and Catholics united to condemn a Government under which both had suffered, and a point on which enemies were agreed was assumed to be proved. When I commenced the examination of the records, I brought with me the inherited impression from which I had neither any thought nor any expectation that I should be disabused. I found that it melted between my hands, and with it disappeared that other fact so difficult to credit, yet as it had appeared so impossible to deny, that English parliaments, English judges, English clergy, statesmen whose beneficent legislature survives among the most valued of our institutions, prelates who were the founders and martyrs of the English Church, were the cowardly accomplices of abominable atrocities, and had disgraced themselves with a sycophancy which the Roman senate imperfectly approached when it fawned on Nero.

Henry had many faults. They have been exhibited in the progress of the narrative: I need not return to them. But his position was one of unexampled difficulty; and by the work which he accomplished, and the conditions, internal and external, under which his task was allotted to him, he, like every other man, ought to be judged. He was inconsistent; he can bear the reproach of it. He ended by accepting and approving what he had commenced with persecuting; yet it was with the honest inconsistency which distinguishes the conduct of most men of practical ability in times of change, and

even by virtue of which they obtain their success. If at the commencement of the movement he had regarded the eucharist as a 'remembrance,' he must either have concealed his convictions or he would have forfeited his throne; if he had been a stationary bigot, the Reformation might have waited for a century, and would have been conquered only by an internecine war.

But as the nation moved the King moved, leading it, but not outrunning it; checking those who went too fast, dragging forward those who lagged behind. The conservatives, all that was sound and good among them, trusted him because he so long continued to share their conservatism; when he threw it aside he was not reproached with breach of confidence, because his own advance had accompanied theirs.

Protestants have exclaimed against the Six Articles Bill; Romanists against the Act of Supremacy. Philosophers complain that the prejudices of the people were needlessly violated, that opinions should have been allowed to be free, and the reform of religion have been left to be accomplished by reason. Yet, however cruel was the Six Articles Bill, the governing classes even among the laity were unanimous in its favour. The King was not converted by a sudden miracle; he believed the traditions in which he had been trained; his eyes, like the eyes of others, opened but slowly; and unquestionably, had he conquered for himself in their fulness the modern principles of toleration, he could not have governed by them a nation which was itself intolerant. Perhaps, of all living Englishmen who shared Henry's faith, there

was not one so little desirous in himself of enforcing it by violence. His personal exertions were ever to mitigate the action of the law, while its letter was sustained; and England at its worst was a harbour of refuge to the Protestants compared to the Netherlands, to France, to Spain, or even to Scotland.

That the Romanists should have regarded him as a tyrant is natural; and were it true that English subjects owed fealty to the Pope, their feeling was just. But, however desirable it may be to leave religious opinion unfettered, it is certain that, if England was legitimately free, she could tolerate no difference of opinion on a question of allegiance, so long as Europe was conspiring to bring her back into slavery. So long as the English Romanists refused to admit without mental reservation that, if foreign enemies invaded this country in the Pope's name, their place must be at the side of their own sovereign, 'religion' might palliate the moral guilt of their treason, but it could not exempt them from its punishment.

But these matters have been discussed in the details of this history, where alone they can be understood.

Beyond and besides the Reformation, the constitution of these islands now rests in large measure on foundations laid in this reign. Henry brought Ireland within the reach of English civilization. He absorbed Wales and the Palatinates into the general English system. He it was who raised the House of Commons from the narrow duty of voting supplies, and of passing without discussion the measures of the privy council,

and converted them into the first power in the State under the Crown. When he ascended the throne so little did the Commons care for their privileges, that their attendance at the sessions of Parliament was enforced by a law. They woke into life in 1529, and they became the right hand of the King to subdue the resistance of the House of Lords, and to force upon them a course of legislation which from their hearts they detested. Other kings in times of difficulty summoned their 'great councils,' composed of peers, or prelates, or municipal officials, or any persons whom they pleased to nominate. Henry VIII. broke through the ancient practice, and ever threw himself on the representatives of the people. By the Reformation, and by the power which he forced upon them, he had so interwoven the House of Commons with the highest business of the State, that the Peers thenceforward sunk to be their shadow.

Something, too, ought to be said of his individual exertions in the details of State administration. In his earlier life, though active and assiduous, he found leisure for elegant accomplishments, for splendid amusements, for relaxations careless, extravagant, sometimes questionable. As his life drew onwards his lighter tastes disappeared, and the whole energy of his intellect was pressed into the business of the commonwealth. Those who have examined the printed *State Papers* may form some impression of his industry from the documents which are his own composition, and the letters which he wrote and received: but only persons who have seen

the original manuscripts, who have observed the traces of his pen in side notes and corrections, and the handwritings of his secretaries in diplomatic commissions, in drafts of Acts of Parliament, in expositions and formularies, in articles of faith, in proclamations, in the countless multitude of documents of all sorts, secular or ecclesiastical, which contain the real history of this extraordinary reign, only they can realize the extent of labour to which he sacrificed himself, and which brought his life to a premature close. His personal faults were great, and he shared, besides them, in the errors of his age; but far deeper blemishes would be but as scars upon the features of a sovereign who in trying times sustained nobly the honour of the English name, and carried the commonwealth securely through the hardest crisis in its history.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PROTECTORATE.

1547. January. IT has been said that, in the selection of his executors, Henry VIII. was guided by the desire to leave a Government behind him in which the parties of reaction and of progress should alike be represented, and should form a check one upon the other. No individual among them was given precedence over another, because no one could be trusted with supreme power. On both sides names were omitted which might naturally have been looked for. Gardiner was struck from the list as violent and dangerous; Lord Parr the Queen's brother, Lord Dorset who had married Henry's niece, were passed over as sectarian or imprudent; and, whatever further changes the King might himself have contemplated, he may be presumed to have desired that the existing order of things in Church and State should be maintained as he had left it till Edward's minority should expire.

In anticipation of the contingency which had now arrived, an Act of Parliament had been passed several years before, empowering sovereigns who might succeed

to the crown while under age, to repeal by letters patent all measures which might have been passed in their names; and this Act, without doubt, was designed to prohibit regents, or councils of regency, from meddling with serious questions.[1] But the King did not leave the world without expressing his own views with elaborate explicitness. He spent the day before his death in conversation with Lord Hertford and Sir William Paget on the condition of the country. He urged them to follow out the Scottish marriage to the union of the Crowns, and by separate and earnest messages he commended Edward to the care both of Charles V. and of Francis I.[2] So much they communicated to the world; with respect to the rest they kept their secret. It is known only that the King continued his directions to them as long as he could speak, and they were with him when he died.

Whatever he said, however, the Earl of Hertford never afterwards dared to appeal to the verbal instructions of Henry as a justification of the course which he intended to follow. He had formed other schemes, and he had determined in his own mind that he was wiser than his master. The Earl of Hertford, ardent, generous, and enthusiastic, the popular successful general, the uncle of Edward, was ill satisfied with the limited powers and the narrow sphere of action which had been assigned him. He saw England, as he believed, ripe

[1] 28 Henry VIII. cap. 17.

[2] Memoranda of Directions to the Ambassadors in France and Flanders: *MS. State Paper Office.*

for mighty changes easy of accomplishment. He saw in imagination the yet imperfect revolution carried out to completion, and himself as the achiever of the triumph remembered in the history of his country. He had lived in a reign in which the laws had been severe beyond precedent and when even speech was criminal. He was himself a believer in liberty; he imagined that the strong hand could now be dispensed with, that an age of enlightenment was at hand when severity could be superseded with gentleness and force by persuasion.

But, to accomplish these great purposes, he required a larger measure of authority. Before the King's body was cold, in the corridor outside the room where it was lying, he entreated Paget to assist him in altering the arrangements, and Paget, with some cautions and warnings, and stipulating only that Hertford should be guided in all things by his advice, consented.[1]

It was now three o'clock in the morning of the 28th of January. The King had died at two, and after this hurried but momentous conversation, the Earl hastened off to bring up the Prince, who was in Hertfordshire with Elizabeth. In his haste he took with him the key of the will, for which Paget was obliged to send after

[1] Two years after, Paget reminded Hertford of their conversation, and of his own warnings. 'What seeth your Grace,' he wrote, 'Marry, the King's subjects all out of discipline, out of obedience, carrying neither for Protector nor King. What is the matter? Marry, sir, that which I said to your Grace in the gallery. Liberty! Liberty! and your Grace's too much gentleness, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor—the opinion of such as saith to your Grace, 'Oh, sir, there was never man that had the hearts of the poor as you have.'"—Paget to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office.

him. In returning it, he recommended that for the present some caution should be used in communicating the contents to the world.[1] The world should experience the benefit of the alterations before it was made aware of the nature of them.

In the afternoon of Monday the 31st he arrived at the Tower with Edward. The death of Henry had been formally made known only in the morning of that day. The council was in session, and Paget had already proposed a protectorate. Lord Wriothesley, the chancellor, spoke earnestly in opposition. Protectorates, especially when they had been held by the uncles of kings, had been occasions of disaster and crime; the Protector in the minority of Henry VI. had ruined the finances and lost France; Edward V. had been murdered by the Duke of Gloucester. But Paget's influence was stronger than Wriothesley's, and the chancellor reluctantly acquiescing, the form of Government as disposed by Henry, was modified on Hertford's appearance in the following instrument.

'We, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Lord Wriothesley, Chancellor of England, William Lord St John, John Lord Russell, Edward Earl of Hertford, John Viscount Lisle, Cuthbert Bishop of Durham, Anthony Browne, William Paget, Edward North, Edward Montague, Anthony Denny, and William Herbert, being all assembled together in the Tower of London the last day of January, have reverently and diligently con-

[1] Hertford to Paget: TYTLER'S *Edward and Mary*, vol. i. p. 15.

sidered the great charge committed to us, and calling to Almighty God for his aid and assistance, have resolved and agreed with one voice to stand to and maintain the last will and testament of our late master in every part and article of the same.

'Further, considering the greatness of the charge, the multitude of business, the number of executors appointed with like and equal charge, it should be more than necessary, as well for the honour, surety, and good government of the most royal person of the King our sovereign lord that now is, as for the more certain and assured direction of his affairs, that some special man of the number aforesaid should be preferred in name and place before other, to whom, as to the head of the rest, all strangers and others might have access, and who for his virtue, wisdom, and experience in things were meet and able to be a special remembrancer, and to keep a most certain account of all our proceedings, which otherwise could not choose within short time but grow into much disorder and confusion—

'We, therefore, the Archbishop and others whose names be hereunto subscribed, by our whole consent, concord, and agreement, upon mature consideration of the tenderness and proximity of blood between our sovereign lord that now is, and the said Earl of Hertford, by virtue of the authority given unto us by the said will and testament of our said late sovereign lord and master for the doing of any act or acts that may tend to the honour and surety of our sovereign lord that now is, or for the advancement of his affairs, have given unto

him the chief place among us, and also the name and title of the Protector of all the realms and dominions of the King's Majesty, and governor of his most royal person, with the special and express condition that he shall not do any act but with the advice and consent of the rest of the executors, in such manner, order, and form as in the will of our late sovereign lord is appointed and prescribed, which the said Earl hath promised to perform accordingly.'[1]

The Protectorate had been gained with little difficulty; the conditions with which it was fettered could in due time be disposed of.

The other provisions in the will fell next under consideration. A clause directed that all provisions made by the King in his lifetime should be fulfilled by the executors. On Sunday, the 6th of February, Paget said that a few weeks previously Henry had spoken to him of the decay of the English nobility. Many peerages had become extinct, 'some by attainder, some by misgovernance and riotous living, some by sickness and other means.' The order required refreshment with new blood, and Paget had been requested to make a 'book of names' of persons whom it was desirable to advance. A list had been drawn, in which Hertford had been named for a dukedom, Parr for a marquisate, Lisle,[2] St John,[3] and Russell for earldoms, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Cheyne, Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby, Sir R. Arundel, Sir Edward

February.

[1] Records of the Privy Council: Edward VI. *MS. Council Office.*

[2] John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland.

[3] Paulet, afterwards Marquis of Winchester.

Sheffield, Sir John St Leger, Sir — Wymbish, Sir Christopher Danby, and Vernon of the Peak, for baronies. The King entered opposite to each name the grants which should accompany the titles; and Paget had then submitted the Royal intentions to the different candidates.

Some of these gentlemen, however, were unambitious; others, perhaps, considered the estates allotted them too small to maintain an increased rank. There was a general expression of dissatisfaction, and the King hesitated what to do. Paget was directed to make another list, entering himself the endowments which would be thought adequate. A dukedom he again fixed for Hertford, and an earldom for his son, 'with 800 pound lands, and 300 pound of the next bishop's lands which should fall vacant.' Sir Thomas Seymour should be Lord Seymour of Sudleye, with 500*l.* lands; and he suggested grants on a similar scale for all the rest of the executors except for himself. The new schedule was read over to Henry in the presence of Sir William Herbert and Sir Anthony Denny.

'Mr Secretary has remembered all men save one,' said Herbert. 'You mean himself,' replied the King. 'I remember him well enough, and he shall be helped.'

But no distinct conclusion was arrived at. The grants were profuse and the Crown was in debt. Henry 'put the book in his poke,' and died without returning to the subject.[1]

The silence, however, was construed favourably.

[1] Records of the Privy Council: Edward VI. *MS. Council Office.*

The hypothetical bequests in their own favour which the will did not contain the executors held themselves bound to accomplish. The legacies in money which were specially named they held it prudent to suspend, although, indeed, considerable sums were left to themselves. France might go to war with them to recover Boulogne. 'Their imperfect friend the Emperor' might go to war with them to reimpose the authority 'of the Bishop of Rome.' It would be unsafe to empty the treasury of coin, and 'leave the realm impoverished.' Making a merit of their virtue, they would wait with the other legatees for a more convenient season.

Another matter of importance was put off for the same reason. The will ordained that the Crown debts should have preference over every other disposition, and the encumbrances left by the war were still undischarged. The King had set the dangerous example of taking up money at interest from the Fuggers at Antwerp. Owing to the change of habits in the higher classes and to other causes, the annual expenses of the household, which at the beginning of Henry's reign had been but 14,000*l.*, had slowly and gradually risen. In the last year they had made a sudden violent start, in consequence of the rise of prices which attended the infection of the currency, and the charges for the last six months had reached 28,000*l.* Much of this was still unpaid, and again there were the loans from the Mint, met hitherto by the expedient of depreciation, which required an instant remedy. In the last four years, 24,000 lb. weight of silver had been coined, mixed on an average with an

equal quantity of alloy.[1] The gain to the Crown from this dangerous source had been 50,000*l.* The duty of the executors was to call in the impure coin. The estates which they divided among themselves to support their new honours might have been sold for five times the amount which in this early stage of the disease would have been required.

But Henry himself had been, perhaps, unaware of the peril of meddling with the currency. It seems not to have occurred to the council—perhaps it did not occur to him—that where a small quantity of debased coin is thrown into the midst of a circulation generally pure, the good will inevitably sink to the level of the bad. The money of the State could not be wasted in the payment of debts either to the Fuggers or to the Mint. In the large schemes which the Protector was meditating, the currency might prove a convenient resource.

With the appropriation of the estates followed the distribution of honours and dignities. On the 16th of February it was ordered in council that Hertford should be Duke of Somerset, and that his brother should be Lord Seymour of Sudleye; Lord Parr was to be Marquis of Northampton, Lisle and Wriothesley Earls of Warwick and Southampton. The patents were made out the next day at the Tower,[2] and the will of Henry was thus disposed of.

The next step was to show the bishops that the change of rulers had not restored their liberty. They

[1] *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. i. p. 176.
[2] *Privy Council Records*, Edward VI. *MS.*

were to regard themselves as possessed of no authority independent of the Crown. They were not successors of the apostles, but merely ordinary officials; and, in evidence that they understood and submitted to their position, they were required to accept a renewal of their commissions. Cranmer set the willing example, in an acknowledgment that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as secular, within the realm, only emanated from the sovereign.[1] The other prelates consented, or were compelled, to imitate him.[2]

But for the measures which the reforming party meditated, the Protector was not yet wholly in the position which he or they desired. He was hampered by a council of which the chancellor was a member; and so long as he could do nothing without the council's consent, he could but walk in the track which Henry had marked for him. Wriothesley, however, by a fortunate

[1] 'Quando quidem omnis jurisdicendi auctoritas atque etiam jurisdictio omni modo, tam illa quæ ecclesiastica dicitur quam sæcularis a Regiâ potestate velut a supremo capite ac omnium magistratuum intra regnum nostrum fonte et scaturigine primitus emanaverit.'—Cranmer's Renewal of his Commission: BURNET'S *Collectanea*.

[2] Gardiner complained to Paget, holding Paget in some way as responsible. Paget replied, 'I malign not bishops, but would that both they and all others were in such order as might be most to the glory of God and the benefit of this realm: much less I malign your Lordship, but wish ye well; and if the estate of bishops is or shall be thought meet to be reformed, I wish either that you were no bishop, or that you could have such a pliable will as could bear reformation. Your Lordship shall have your commission in as ample a manner as I have authority to make out the same, and in as ample a manner as you had it before, which I think you may execute now with less fear of danger than you have had cause hitherto to do.'—Paget to Gardiner: TYTLER, vol. i. p. 25.

want of judgment, gave Somerset an opportunity to shake him off. There was a jealousy of old standing in the profession to which he belonged between the civilians and the common law lawyers. The sympathies of the chancellor were with the former, and believing that he held his office irresponsibly and irremoveably, and finding his occupation at the council-board interfere with his duties as a judge, he made out a commission in the King's name to the Master of the Rolls and three civilians, empowering them to hear and determine causes in the Court of Chancery as his representatives. The students at the inns of court complained to the council. The judges being consulted, reported unanimously that the issue of a commission under the great seal without sanction from the Crown was an offence by which, 'by the common law,' the chancellor had forfeited his office; and when first called to account, Wriothesley enhanced his misdemeanour by 'menacing divers of the learned men,' and 'using unfitting words to the Lord Protector.' The council 'considered what danger might ensue, if the great seal of England, whereby the King and the realm might be bound, should continue in the hands of so stout and arrogant a person as durst presume at his will to seal without warrant;' and they resolved, without a dissentient voice, that he should be deprived.[1]

March. They came to their determination on the morning of Sunday, the 6th of March. The chancellor was ordered to remain a prisoner in the council

[1] *Privy Council Records*, Edward VI. *MS.*

chamber till the end of the afternoon sermon. In the evening he withdrew to his house, and resigned the seals into the hands of Lord Seymour and Sir Anthony Browne.

The complaint of the students and the entries in the Council Register contain the only surviving account of this transaction, and from an *ex parte* statement no conclusion can be drawn on the fairness of Wriothesley's treatment. The Protector, however, was conveniently freed from his ablest opponent, and he was enabled to make a more considerable innovation in the structure of the Government. A week after he took out a new patent for the Protectorate, which was drawn in Edward's name. The executors were left as his advisers; but, probably under the pretence that the chancellor's conduct made it necessary that their position should be more distinctly defined, they were now represented as the nominees of Edward, and no longer as guardians appointed by his father. The Protector might accept their advice, or might neglect it, at his own pleasure. He might act with all of them, or with 'so many as he pleased to call to his assistance.' He might choose others, should he desire the help of others. In fact, he might 'do anything which a governor of the King's person, or Protector of the realm, ought to do,' and was left to his own unfettered discretion to decide what his obligations might be.[1]

The Duke of Somerset had now obtained the reality

[1] Royal Commission for the Protectorate: BURNET'S *Collectanea*.

of power. His precautions in withholding such parts of the will of the late King as he desired to conceal prevented the nation from being aware generally of the extent to which he had transgressed it. He was Edward's uncle; he had the art of popularity, and the factions opposed to him were disheartened and disunited. His virtual sovereignty was submitted to, it would seem, without outward complaint or opposition. Only he was bound to remember that jealous eyes were ever on the watch upon power illegitimately obtained; that, as he had taken the Protectorate on his own responsibility, so, for such errors as he might fall into, he would be called on to give a strict account. At the very outset he was not without warning that he was on dangerous ground. His new commission was countersigned only by seven of his co-executors. The names of all the rest, and among them that of the Earl of Warwick, were significantly withheld.

If Somerset was ambitious, however, it was only (as he persuaded himself) to do good. He commenced his administration with a prayer, in which he spoke of himself as called to rule by Providence; in which he described himself as a shepherd of God's people, a sword-bearer of God's justice; in which he asked prosperity, wisdom, and victory for the great things which God was to enable him to do.[1] Nevertheless, such language was

[1] 'Thou, Lord, by thy Providence hast caused me to rule. I am, by thy appointment, minister for thy King, shepherd for thy people. By Thee kings do reign, and from Thee all power is derived; govern me as I shall govern,' &c.—STRYPE: *Memorials*, vol. iv. p. 311.

better suited to a prince than to a subject. His own intrigues, and not the will of Heaven, had placed him in the position which he had achieved. In a letter to the King of France he so curiously forgot himself that 'he called his Majesty brother,' and Dr Wotton, the ambassador, was requested to remind him who and what he was.[1] Such assistance as Heaven would grant him in the task which he had undertaken of governing England, he was likely to require. Of the religious factions at home, it was essential to the welfare of the country that neither should be allowed to prevail. With foreign powers there was peace, but it was a peace which had been dearly bought, and which the most delicate skill could alone succeed in maintaining.

The difficulty of the situation will be best seen in a review of the general condition of Europe.

And first for the Council of Trent. 1545.

From the commencement of the Reformation a general council had been in the mouth of the Christian world. All parties in turn had clamoured for it, all parties in turn had opposed it, as the predominant influence under which, if it assembled, it was likely to fall, varied between the great powers of Europe, the peoples, and the Papacy. So long as the Emperor was entangled in the war with France, he was compelled to temporize with the Protestant States of Germany, and the Germans pressed a council upon him which should be held within the frontiers of the Empire, where they could themselves

[1] *MSS. France*, Edward VI. bundle 1, State Paper Office.

be freely represented and freely heard. Such a council the Popes had as loudly deprecated, and Charles, embarrassed on one side with the necessity of conciliating the Diet, on the other with his loyalty to Catholicism, had again and again declared that a council was chiefly valuable as a possibility—as a threat—as a cannon to be kept loaded—minatory, but never to be discharged. There were books enough, he said, to determine the Catholic doctrines, codes and law courts to enforce Catholic discipline. Fresh definitions and fresh polemical organizations would only sharpen the edge of the schism and bring about a violent collision.[1] While the war continued the Popes consented readily to a delay, which was of most advantage to themselves. Without the united support of the two great Catholic monarchies they distrusted their powers of overbearing opposition. The peace of Crêpy had for the first time presented the conditions which the Court of Rome desired. Paul III., to lose no more time, sent Cardinal Farnese to the Emperor to entreat his consent. He could keep his promises to the Lutherans in the letter, if not in the spirit, by appointing for the place of assembly a city within the German frontier, where the Italian and Papal influences would, nevertheless, effectively predominate.

Charles, still anxious to put off an open rupture with Germany, hesitated. The Bishop of Arras replied for him, that if a council met, summoned by the Pope, the Protestants, assured of their intended condemnation,

[1] Pallavicino.

would take up arms. The Catholic States in Germany could not be relied upon, and the Elector and the Landgrave, as the best means of defending themselves, might perhaps carry the war into Italy, and dictate terms in the citadel of religion itself. The Pope would have to rely upon his own resources to protect himself; the Imperial treasury was exhausted, and, though his master would give his life, he could give no more.

With some doubt of the sincerity of these objections, Paul III. for the moment gave way to them. A few cardinals and bishops had collected at Trent to arrange preliminaries. They were instructed to wear away the time in a show of making preparations, and the Pope tried to persuade himself that the difficulty with Charles was really and truly, as he pretended, a want of power —that when opportunity should offer, he would draw the sword with effect.[1]

In August the Emperor met the German Diet at Worms, when he again held out hopes of a satisfactory settlement. But he satisfied the Pope behind the scenes with private assurances, although he had alarmed the fathers at Trent by the vagueness of his language.[2]

So matters stood when the Duke of Orleans died. The war was likely to revive, and the Pope determined that he would wait no longer. He must make the best

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[1] 'Velle re verâ Cæsarem in hæresim ensem educere.'—PALLAVICINO.

[2] 'Eoque magis quod ipsos latuit quid auri sub eo Cæsaris consilio latuit, quamvis deformi scoriâ illius indulgentiæ contectum. Quod consilium fuisset patribus patefactum nisi consuevisset Pontifex literas peculiares haud cæteris communicandas perscribere.'—Ibid.

of the occasion while it endured, and in December, 1545, the Council of Trent was opened for despatch of business. The Emperor, dragged into a reluctant approval, permitted the attendance of the bishops of Spain, partly to gratify the Pope, partly to control the Italians; and so welcome were they, and so doubtful had been their coming, that when they arrived, the cardinals, legates, and prelates went out to receive them at the gates, and a special seat of honour was assigned to the Archbishop of Toledo as the Imperial representative.[1]

1546. January. If prudence was still important, the presence of some one in authority who could keep his judgment cool was not unnecessary. The zealous fathers desired at once to draw the sword and pass a censure on the Germans before Charles was ready for the struggle for which he was obliged in haste to prepare himself. The Archbishop of Toledo interposed. In spite of a querulous murmur, he contrived for the time to turn the heat of discussion into less dangerous channels.[2] Original sin was brought forward, and next a fertile discussion on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.[3] And when on this point the fiery conflict had burnt out, the Bishop of Fiesoli threw in the inexhaust-

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[1] 'Quod erat peculiare subsellium supra cunctos patres, quasi ex adverso Legatorum, cui adjectum erat scabellum duorum hominum capax.'—PALLAVICINO.

[2] 'Inter Patres querulus susurrus increbuit quasi Legati arbitratu suo semel in congregationibus statuta mutarent.'—Ibid.

[3] 'Hâc ratione voto Cæsaris consulebat, initâ siquidem a Patribus quæstione de articulo intra duas Catholicorum scholas easque doctrinâ pollentes strenue agitato, qui in præfervidum diuturnumque certamen abiturus erat.'—Ibid.

ible and yet more agitating question, What was the Pope's authority, and what was a bishop's authority? How far could one bishop overrule another bishop in his own diocese? Here the strife of tongues, once kindled, raged without ceasing till Midsummer, 1546, when the Emperor was ready to take the field; and then at last the Council were allowed to approach subjects which would bring them in collision with the Reformers. An article was brought forward on the heresy of justification by faith: a league was concluded between Charles and Paul; and a holy war was proclaimed.

This is not a place to describe the campaign which closed at Muhlberg in the following spring, so disastrously for the Lutherans. The Pope undertook to provide an Italian contingent, and for a supply of funds he allowed the Emperor to sequestrate half the revenue of the Church of Spain, and to sell church lands to the value of a half-million crowns. But the Emperor's misgivings had not deceived him as to the strength of the enemy. The Elector of Saxe and the Landgrave of Hesse took the field at the head of an army far superior to the Papal Imperial troops in number, in equipment, in commissariat. Their artillery doubled the Emperor's; the people were on their side; they possessed every advantage, except in the one point of a divided command and inferiority of military skill.[1]

[1] A series of exceedingly valuable letters from the English ambassadors who followed the Imperial camp in the summer and autumn of 1546, are printed in the eleventh volume of the *State Papers* of Henry VIII.

The result of the conflict seemed at one time so uncertain, that the fathers at the council were thrown into the utmost agitation. Some ferocious Protestant leader might stoop down upon them out of the mountains, lying out as they were exposed upon the frontier; they desired to flutter off to some safer residence;[1] and so much disturbed were they, that in the heat of their alarm they forgot the plainest proprieties of decorum. In an excited session one venerable prelate clutched another by the beard, and plucked out his hoary hair in handfuls;[2] and they would have broken up and dispersed on the spot, had not the Emperor sent a message, that if they were not quiet, he would have some of them flung into the Adige.

Finding himself meanwhile too weak to risk a battle, Charles had recourse to intrigue. The Protestant leaders used their strength unskilfully, and the summer had passed without an action. With the winter, Duke Maurice of Saxe, the Landgrave's son-in-law, and, if the family of John Frederick failed, the heir of the

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[1] 'Tridenti tamen adeo trepidatum fuerat ut episcopi fugere meditarentur.'—PALLAVICINO.

[2] 'The Bishop of Capua having expressed an opinion rather vehemently, the Bishop of Chæronea whispered to his neighbour that such folly and impudence were inexcusable. The first Bishop asked what he was saying. 'I said, my Lord,' replied the Bishop of Chæronea, 'that your folly and impudence were without excuse.' Then the other, as the wont is among men, overcome with anger, blazed out into revenge; laying his hand on the beard of his brother prelate, he did tear away many of the hairs thereof, and straightway went his way. As the assembly gathered about him, the Bishop of Chæronea did show no other sign of displeasure save that in a loud voice he repeated his words again; the fathers at the unseemly spectacle were disturbed incredibly.' —PALLAVICINO.

electorate, deserted his party, and came over to Charles, bringing with him the Duke of Wurtemberg and half the military power of the reforming States. The religious aspect of the war was thus exchanged for a political one. The reforming princes, in joining the Emperor, imagined that they were tying his hands, and it is true that the connection had its embarrassments for him. But the League of Smalcalde was broken up. The Landgrave and the Elector were placed under the ban of the Empire, and Saxony was bestowed on Maurice as a reward of his treachery. Paul III., indignant at the return of a carnal policy, withdrew his contingent, discontinued his supplies of money, and cancelling his sanction for the appropriation of the Spanish benefices, began to look in despair towards France; France in turn began to meditate supporting the Elector, in order to prevent Charles from conquering Germany; and it was at this crisis, as all things appeared to be relapsing into confusion, that Henry VIII. died—'The most miserable of princes,' says Pallavicino; 'cursed in the extinction of his race, as if God would punish those distracted marriages, from which, in spite of fortune, he laboured to beget sons to succeed him; cursed in his country, which ever since has been an Africa, fertile only in monsters.'[1] 1547. March.

In the autumn, while the league was yet unbroken between the Pope and the Emperor, Henry had offered to join the Protestants. The Elector, confident in his

[1] 'Britannia postmodo tanquam in Africam conversa est monstrorum omnium feracem.'—PALLAVICINO.

own strength, and over-hopeful of France, had evaded or declined the conditions on which the alliance was proposed to him, and the last directions of the King to his executors were unfavourable to further interference. The struggle was altering its character; Charles was again in connection with a section of the Lutherans, and Edward was especially recommended to the Imperial protection.

But if Henry had no longer a desire that England should interfere on the Continent, the Pope snatched at the opportunity of the departure of his dreaded enemy to revenge himself on England. Laying aside his immediate grounds of complaint against Charles, he wrote to urge upon him the duty of at once asserting by arms the right of the Princess Mary to the crown. Edward having been born in schism, was not to be recognized as legitimate; the daughter of Catherine was the only child of Henry whose rights could be admitted by Catholics.

Had there been a corresponding movement in England, had Surrey been alive or his father at liberty, it is likely that Paul would not have entreated in vain; the war might have been suspended in Germany, and the invasion so long threatened have become a fact. But, after a consultation at Brussels, it was decided that the Emperor should wait to see what the conduct of the new Government would be. To interfere without the support of a party in the country would be dangerous, and might cost Mary her life.[1]

[1] 'Il luy sembloit,' wrote the Bishop of Arras to Chancellor Granvelle (he was speaking of the Regent of the Netherlands), 'que l'on deut

A smart reply was despatched, therefore, to the Pope's request, that the time was unsuited for the move which he proposed, and that the Holy See must be more

attendre jusques la conduite de la nouveaulx gouvernement se vit, et par icelle sur quoy l'on se debvroit fonder, et selon ce, ce que l'on y debvroit faire: et despuis que le Roy est mort, et le Duc de Norfolk (it was not known that Norfolk's life had been spared) et son filz le Conte de Surrey executiez, le jeune Roy qu'est ja couronné envoyoit vers l'Empereur pour l'advertir du trespas du feu Roy et couronnement du nouveaulx ung gentilhomme de la chambre dudit nouveaulx Roy, et il a semblé que les raisons allegués par Chappuys militent encores.'

Her Majesty, he continued, is afraid of doing anything which might compromise Mary: 'Quia ubi opus est, comme vous dictes, ibi non verentur;'—those English will stick at nothing—and things being as they were, the Emperor would recognize Edward as king. Not to irritate the Pope, however, no funeral service should be said for Henry; 'S'il ne vous semble aultre chose l'on se resoult de ne faire exéques pour le Roy d'Angleterre, tant pour non irriter sa Sainctité que pour non se pouvoir faire avec bonne conscience: et que ceulx qui s'en mesleroyent seroient irreguliers étant nominativement excommuniés, et à l'instance mesme, comme il me semble, de sa Majesté.'—Arras to Granvelle, Feb. 12, 1546-7: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iii. p. 245, &c.

The allusion to the death of Surrey as affecting the resolution of the Imperial Government confirms and explains a remarkable passage in 'The Pilgrim,' a tract written in the spring of this year 1547 by an Englishman named William Thomas.

'A poor soldier,' says that writer, 'that came even now from the Emperor's camp, told me in Florence, not four days gone, that he had heard a whispering among the soldiers, how that the said Earl of Surrey, at his being with the Emperor before Laudrecy, was entered into intelligence with divers great captains, and had gotten promises of aid towards the furniture of his intent. Yea, said he, and farther, he should have been the Emperor's man from the selfsame purpose. I will not say, quoth he, that this is true; but when the private soldiers are grown so commonly to talk of these things, it is to be presumed that there should be something of importance, for without some fire there was never smoke.

'It is possible enough, said a gentleman present, for I myself, who have been in the Emperor's camp, have heard much reasoning of the matter. It was doubted whether this young prince was legitimate or no.' —'The Pilgrim,' *MS. Harleian*, 355.

constant in its alliances, if it looked for help in services of danger. The refusal filled the cup of the Papal displeasure; the panic revived at Trent with augmented force, as the frightened ecclesiastics saw themselves with open enemies and ambiguous friends in so dangerous a position; and at last, in an ecstasy of terror, they rose with scream and cry into the air, like Homer's birds from the banks of the Cayster, and alighted only within the safe precincts of Bologna. The Emperor was furious; the œcumenical council of Christendom was thus converted into a private Pope's council, to which it was idle to hope that the Germans would submit. He sent imperative orders to the Spanish bishops to remain at their posts; but over the rest his anger was powerless; they were gone, and refused to return.

So long as this state of affairs continued, England had nothing to fear from Charles. It seemed, however, not impossible that England might be forced itself to take the initiative in a quarrel. The personal dislike of the Elector of Saxe for Henry VIII. had been the real ground for the rejection of the alliance when it was offered. No sooner was the King gone than John Frederick became as eager as he had been before unwilling. He sent commissioners to England to beg for assistance, and a State paper of Sir William Paget's remains to show that the acutest of English statesmen hesitated as to the course which it would be prudent to pursue.

The French, Paget said, were sore at the loss of Boulogne, which they were bent on recovering. The

Pope desired to recover the allegiance of England; and the Emperor, in spite of appearances, would help him as soon as he could, 'partly moved by a corrupt conscience, partly by ambition to reign alone, besides old grudges and displeasures.' The first necessity, therefore, was quiet, and the re-establishment of the finances at home; the second, effective alliances abroad. At home all promised to go well; as a foreign ally, the safest would be either Francis or Charles; Francis, if he would wait the eight years for Boulogne; Charles, if he would detach himself conclusively from the Holy See.

'But we see either of them,' he continued, 'so affected in his own opinion, and by daily experience we know so little faith to be given in either of their promises when the breach of the same may serve to their purpose, as to have cause to be at point to despair to find friendship in either of them longer than they may not choose.'

There remained the present overture from the Elector, which it might be equally dangerous to accept or to refuse. To accept would in all likelihood unite the Catholic powers in a league against England, and war would follow with all its risk and cost. To refuse was either to leave the Protestants to be crushed, or to alienate them probably for ever—to throw them into the arms of France; while France, thus strengthened, might drive the English from Calais as well as from Boulogne.

On the side of France he concluded that the danger

was most immediate. The problem, therefore, was to keep on terms, if possible, both with the Emperor and with the Protestants—if possible to reconcile them; at any rate, to give a gentle answer to the Elector's invitation.[1]

The position was a difficult one. The privy council, not to send back John Frederick's emissaries with words only, gave with them a present of 50,000 crowns; but they added a stipulation that the liberality should be kept a secret.[2] More directly important and more menacing were, as Paget said, the relations of the country with France.

Francis himself had had enough of wars. The exequies of Henry VIII., which had been neglected at Brussels, were celebrated in Notre Dame, in defiance of the Papal authorities; and so long as Francis lived, peace was in no seeming danger. But on the 22nd of March Francis followed Henry to the grave. The Dauphin had been the leader of the party most opposed to England, and the consequences of the change were immediately felt. The frontier line of the tract of land surrendered with Boulogne had been left undetermined at the peace. Commissioners on both sides had been employed upon the survey, and had almost agreed upon a settlement, when the new King made difficulties, refused to ratify their arrangement, and while he professed to have no sinister intentions, persisted in keeping open an uncertainty which at an

March 22.

[1] 'Judgment of Sir W. Paget,' printed by STRYPE: *Memorials*, vol. iii.

[2] Records of the Privy Council, Edward VI. *MS.*

time might be the occasion of a quarrel. The Protector replied by a direct violation of the treaty. In the eight years during which Boulogne was to be in the hands of the English, they were to build no fresh fortifications there. An expensive and elaborate embankment was run out towards the sea; avowedly for the protection of the harbour, but in fact to carry cannon and command the approaches.[1]

[1] Lord Grey, Sir T. and Sir H. Palmer were standing one day, in the middle of April, watching the workmen, when two French officers approached, and fell into conversation with them. 'Your fort advances apace,' said they. 'No fort,' said we [Lord Grey is reporting], 'but a jetty to amend the haven, to save both your ships and ours.' 'Yea,' said they, 'but you intend to place ordnance upon it.' 'To what end?' quoth we; 'whereunto should we shoot?' 'Well,' said they, 'seeing it is no fort, you may do what you will; but if it was a fortress, we neither might nor would in any case endure it. But what news,' said they, 'we pray you have you of the Protestants?' 'None other,' quoth we, 'but that we hear they have great hopes in your aid, and that they begin to gather men.' 'Will you go walk with us,' said they, 'and we will tell you more. The Protestants say they shall have, ere it be long, fifty thousand men in the field.' 'God send them well to do,' said we. 'And we also,' said they, 'desire no less, for there is no faith in that Emperor. The King that now is [Henry II.] saw enough by his father's time; and to be plain with you,' said they, 'intendeth to be revenged on him. Marry, not this year peradventure: but being once sure of you, yea, that you will but sit still, the next year at the farthest he will make him war. The Emperor,' they said, 'did seek to marry the daughter of England, to the intent he might have the better entry into our realm, and that now it appeareth well that the King of England, being of young years, had no such friend as the King his master; for the Emperor's drift is none other,' saith he, 'but seeing your prince young, the realm governed by divers heads, and tickle to stir upon small occasions, to take advantage of the time, with the credit of the daughter of the realm, and to be revenged for your opinions, whereof it behoveth you to have special regard, and wish good success to the Protestants; for if the Emperor have the overhand of them, he will think himself able to ask every man how he believeth, wherein it touch-

April. A yet more critical occasion of quarrel was the condition of Scotland. The treaty of 1543, by which the Scotch Assembly had promised their young Queen to Edward, was still legally uncancelled. The influence of France had interrupted the fulfilment of it, and Cardinal Beton and the Church party had dragged the country into war instead of marriage; but at the close of the struggle, Henry VIII. had insisted successfully that the Scotch should reaccept their engagements; and there was still a party in Scotland sufficiently wise and farsighted to prefer the alliance of England to that of France. It was not to be doubted, however, that the compliance of the French Government had been extorted rather than given, and unless the Courts of London and Paris could arrive at some amicable understanding, by intrigue or force there would soon be fresh interference. But, on the other hand, 'the Italian question' was as far from settlement as ever. The death of the Duke of Orleans had broken up the arrangement by which it was to have been set at rest, and that quarrel would sooner or later break into flame again. The wisdom after the event which determines what ought to have been done in this or that embarrassment, is usually good for little; but it seems certainly that England having Boulogne and the Boullonnaise in its hands, and being still the creditor of the French Government for a heavy sum of money, political skill might have turned such advantages to

eth you to take heed more than we.' —Grey to the Council, from Boulogne, April 18: *Calais MSS. State Paper Office*, Edward VI.

some account, and by the immediate surrender of territory, which must, at all events, have soon been parted with, might have induced Henry to leave Scotland to itself. It is possible that the country would not have listened to prudence in a point which touched its pride; it is possible that, if such an overture had been made, it would not have been accepted. It can only be said with safety, that when Somerset took possession of the Protectorate, the state of things was generally dangerous; that, if he left his relations with the European powers to accident, and trusted merely to force to accomplish the Scottish marriage, he would find himself before long at war certainly with France, and possibly with France, Scotland, and the Empire united; and it may be affirmed with equal certainty that with these outstanding difficulties, the opportunity was not the best for a religious revolution at home.

In Scotland itself the position of things was as follows:—

The Castle of St Andrews continued to be held by the party who had put to death Cardinal Beton. The Parliament at Edinburgh divided among themselves, and paralyzed by the loss of the one man of pre-eminent ability that they possessed, could neither resolutely condemn his murder nor resolutely approve it. The deed was done in May 1546. It was not till the last of July that the perpetrators were called on formally to surrender the castle. When they refused, 300*l.* a month was voted to enable the Regent to besiege it, and Leslie, Kircaldy, and the other conspirators were attainted.

But the question, after all, was considered to touch the clergy more than the nation. For the first two months the money was to be found by the 'kirkmen.'[1]

1546. August. In August the Earl of Arran appeared under the walls, and attempted feebly to take possession. But the sea was open; a covered way was constructed from the castle to the water's edge, by which the English cruisers threw in supplies; and the desultory and heartless efforts of the Regent were without result. In January the siege was raised, and an agreement was made that Norman Leslie and his companions should keep the fortress till absolution for the murder could be obtained from Rome; that they should suffer no penalty in life or lands; and that Arran's eldest son, who was a prisoner in the castle, should remain a hostage till the composition was concluded.

So palpable an evidence of weakness in the anti-English faction showed how great was the discouragement into which the loss of Beton had thrown them; and the honour of the English Government required the maintenance at all costs of the men who had made so bold a venture in their interests. The common sense of the Scottish laity, the appetite of the lords for the Church lands, and the growing spirit of the Reformers, had only, it seemed, to be left to themselves, and the counter-influence of France and the Papacy would die a

1547. January. natural death. Balnavis, one of the St Andrew's party, was in London on a commission

[1] *Acts of the Scotch Parliament*, 1546.

from Leslie at the time of the King's decease. Henry had directed that the leaders should be pensioned, and a sum be set apart to maintain a garrison in the castle. The privy council accepted the obligation and discharged it.[1] It would have been well, both for England and for Scotland also, if in this direction they had continued their watchfulness, and left the natural tendencies of interest, right, and good sense, to do their work.

But time was too slow an agent for the eager ambition of Somerset, and the fate of a single castle and a handful of men was insignificant in the schemes which he was contemplating. Henry VIII. in the height of his power had refused to call in question the feudal independence of Scotland. He had rights, he had said, which he might have advanced, had he desired; February.

1 'The late King having resolved, for various considerations, not only to give certain pensions to divers noblemen and others which keep and defend the Castle of St Andrews for his Majesty's service and for the advancement of the marriage, but also at his own cost and charge to entertain a hundred and twenty men for the more sure defence of the said castle against the King's Majesty's enemies in Scotland;' in consequence the privy council resolved 'that 1189*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* should be paid to Sir Henry Balnavis for the affairs of Scotland, that is to say, for the wages of eighty men within the Castle of St Andrews at 6*d.* by the day for six months, the sum of 336*l.* sterling. For the wages of forty horse at 8*d.* the day, appointed to keep abroad for the more surety of the said castle, for six months, 224*l.* For the amity of the Master of Rothes, for one half year ending at Michaelmas last past, 125*l.* For the like to the Laird of Grange, 100*l.* For the like to David Moneypenny, 50*l.* For the like to Mr Henry Balnavis, of Halhill, 62*l.* 10*s.* For the like to John Leslie, of Parkhill, 62*l.* 10*s.* James Leslie, of Abdour, 50*l.* W. Kircaldy, son to the Laird of Grange, 50*l.*, which sums make, on the whole, 1060*l*; and on the exchange 1189*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*' —*Privy Council Records*, Feb. 6, *MS.* Edward VI.

but those rights he was contented to waive. The Duke of Somerset resolved to distinguish his Protectorate by reviving the pretensions and renewing the policy of Edward I., by putting forward the formal claim of England to the dominion of the entire island. To Balnavis he does not seem to have hinted his intentions. Indentures were drawn between the party in the castle and the English Government, in which Leslie and his friends promised to support the Protector in the enforcement of the execution of the marriage treaty;[1] but in none of these was the free sovereignty of Scotland called in question; it was rather admitted and confessed on the grounds which the Scots alleged for their conduct. 'If the present chance was lost,' they said, 'for the determination of a perpetual peace, with amity and love between the kingdoms, the semblable was never likely to ensue hereafter, to the displeasure of Almighty God, and to the eternal condemnation of the workers of the same in hatred, rancour, malice, and vengeance, the one against the other.'

But, although the Scots were comprehended in the treaty with France, the Protector permitted the Borders to be wasted, and fire and sword carried to their homesteads, as if they were rebels; and he communicated his more ambitious views to the French ministers, requiring them formally to abstain from interference. The reply was prompt and stern. They answered, that 'they had no concern with pretensions revived after two centuries

[1] RYMER, vol. vi. part 3, pp. 150—155.

of abeyance.' 'Their King, being such a great prince, might not suffer the old friends of France to be oppressed and alienated from him;' nor would he suffer it to be written in books and chroniques that the Scots, who had ever been faithful friends to France, and whom his ancestors had ever defended, should in his reign be lost, and of friends made enemies.'[1]

As if this matter did not threaten sufficient complications, the Protector found leisure simultaneously to proceed with religious reforms. The ultra-Protestants, whom Henry had held sternly in hand, at once upon his death began to take the bit between their teeth. On the 10th of February the wardens and curates of St Martin's in London, 'of their own authority pulled down the images of the saints in the church.' The paintings on the walls were whitewashed, and the royal arms, garnished with texts, were set in the place of the crucifix on the roodloft. Being called before the council to answer for themselves, the parish officers protested that they had acted with the purest horror of idolatry; but the council, as yet unpurged of its Catholic elements, would not accept the excuse; the over-zealous curates were committed to the Tower, and the churchwardens were bound in recognizances to 'erect a new crucifix, within two days, in its usual place.'[2] But as soon as the Protector, and those who went along with him, had shaken off inconvenient restraints, the rising

[1] Wotton to the Council: *MS. France*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

[2] *Privy Council Records*, Feb. 10, 1547, Edward VI. *MS.*

March. spirit was encouraged to show itself. The sermons at Paul's Cross breathed of revolution. Barlow, Bishop of St David's, whose indiscretion had already assisted to ruin Cromwell, preached on the most inflammable points of controversy.[1] Ridley, Principal of Pembroke Hall at Cambridge, then first emerging into prominence, denounced the use of holy water and the presence of images in churches, loudly and violently. When Lent opened, a Doctor Glazier affirmed that fasting had no divine sanction, that it was 'a politic ordinance of men,' and might therefore be broken by men at their pleasure:[2] and in a manuscript contemporary diary by some unknown writer, I find the significant entry, that 'this year the Archbishop of Canterbury did eat meat openly in Lent, in the Hall of Lambeth, the like of which was never seen since England was a Christian country.'[3]

The Bishop of Winchester who, when in a minority, understood the merits of moderation, ventured, though excluded from the council, to advise some caution. He entreated Somerset to forget his elevation for a moment,

[1] I have not found a copy of the sermon, but the character of it may be gathered from a protest addressed by the Bishop of Winchester to the Protector: 'You need fear nothing,' wrote Gardiner, 'if quiet may be maintained at home, and at home, if the beginning may be resisted, the intended folly may easily be interrupted. But if my brother of St David's may, like a champion with a sword in his hand, make entry for the rest, the door of license is opened.'—Gardiner to the Protector, Feb. 28: FOXE, vol. vi.

[2] STOW.

[3] To four-fifths of the English world as agitating as if among ourselves the Opera House was to be opened on a Sunday and the Bishop of London to appear in a private box.

and listen to him as a friend. He implored him not 'to trouble the realm with novelties' in religion, so long as the King was a child. The political position of things was embarrassing enough to task all his energies; and the country was full of speculations, not merely on points of difference between Catholics and Protestants, but on the Divinity of Christ himself. The late King had introduced reforms, but cautious and moderate reforms, which had given quiet and satisfaction; and for himself he 'would rather be wrong with Plato than right with others.' It was said that Henry VIII. 'had but one eye,' and 'saw not God's truth perfectly:' 'Gardiner said he had rather go to heaven with one eye after him, than travel for another eye with danger to lose both.'

The remonstrance was not recommended by the maker of it, but it was none the less wise in itself. To Ridley also Gardiner wrote in a similar strain. He might say what he pleased of the Papacy of Rome and Roman pardons, but the objects against which he was now declaiming were in use in the earliest ages of the Church; and he would be using his talents better if he had shown how things like holy water and images might continue to be used without offence, than by railing at them with 'light rash eloquence,' which, after all, was easy.[1] May.

[1] He touched Ridley's dread of the supposed idolatry of images with some humour. After all, he said, there was not much real superstition connected with them. Men knelt before the silver crucifix, but the churchwarden who took it home from church, was not afraid, like a reasonable man, to drink a pot of ale while the precious thing was under his gown.—Gardiner to Ridley: Foxe, vol. vi.

But it was a time, as such times will come, and perhaps ought to come, when passion had more weight with men than understanding. The spirit of iconoclasm spread fast. The inhabitants of Portsmouth cleared their churches. The chapter of Canterbury, in need of money to repair the cathedral, sent a crucifix and a pix to the Mint. The crucifix was melted into coin, the pix was arrested by order of council for a time only, before it followed the same route. Portsmouth was in the diocese of Winchester, and the Bishop thought at first of sending preachers there to check the people; but he would not, he said, make preaching an occasion of further folly. He appealed again to the Protector; and the Princess Mary, who, as heir-presumptive, was entitled to speak authoritatively, united with him to entreat, on grounds as well of legality as of prudence, that the settlement left by Henry should be for the present undisturbed. 'I see my late sovereign slandered,' said Gardiner, 'religion assaulted, the realm troubled, and peaceable men disquieted. I dare not desire your Grace to look earnestly to it, lest I should seem to note in you that which becometh me not.'

Somerset, however, had chosen his course, and an inability to comprehend objections which he did not himself perceive, was part of his nature. He made a point against Gardiner with replying that it was not worse to destroy an image than to burn a Bible; every day people were doing the latter, pretending to dislike the translation, and he had made no objection; 'but let a worthless, worm-eaten image be so disposed, and men

exclaimed as if a saint were cast into the fire.'[1] Mary's complaints, the Protector supposed, had originated with some naughty, malicious persons, who had suggested them to her; and as to the late King's intentions, he was fulfilling them better in carrying out the Reformation, than she was fulfilling them by resisting it.

At last he gave the popular movement the formal sanction of the Government. Injunctions were issued for the general purification of the churches. From wall and window every picture, every image commemorative of saint, or prophet, or apostle, was to be extirpated and put away, 'so that there should remain no memory of the same.'[2] Painted glass survives to show that the order was imperfectly obeyed; but, in general, spoliation became the law of the land—the statues crashed from their niches, rood and roodloft were laid low, and the sunlight stared in white and stainless upon the whitened aisles; 'the churches were new whitelimed, with the Commandments written on the walls,' where the quaint frescoes had told the story of the gospel to the eyes of generation after generation.[3] The superstition which had paid an undue reverence to the symbols of holy things, was avenged by the superstition of as blind a hatred.[4]

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[1] The Protector to Gardiner: FOXE, vol. vi.

[2] Injunction on images: printed in JENKYNS's *Cranmer*, vol. iii.

[3] *Grey Friars' Chronicle.*

[4] The Grey Friars' chronicler mentions, with evident satisfaction, that when the rood at St Paul's, 'with Mary and John,' was taken down, 'two of the men that laboured at it were slain, and divers hurt.' Stow also tells a story in connection with these scenes which must not be forgotten:—

The passiveness with which the people appeared to submit encouraged the Government to go further. On the 4th of May a royal visitation, after the pattern set by Cromwell, was announced as to take effect throughout England. The country was divided into six circuits; a *Book of Homilies* as a guide to doctrine, a body of instructions for the ordinaries, and of injunctions for the clergy, were drawn up simultaneously under the direction of Cranmer, and the bishops were suspended from their functions until their duties should recommence under a new system.

The Crown visitors were to inquire how far the bishops had obeyed the orders of the late King; whether the English Litany had been in due use; whether the Pope's authority had been preached against; whether the old scandals of the bishops' courts continued, 'the commuting of penance for money,' and 'the excommunication for lucre;' whether 'excessive sums were taken' for 'religious services,' for the 'concealment of vice,' or 'for induction into benefices;' whether the long-standing grievance was yet abandoned of summoning persons *ex officio* suspected of heresy, and putting them to the shame of purgation. All this was well. Inveterate evils could be extirpated only with watchfulness and habitual investigation. Further, there

'Two priests were arraigned and condemned in the Guildhall for keeping of certain relics, amongst the which was a left arm and shoulder of a monk of the Charter-house, on the which arm was written, it was the arm of such a monk which suffered martyrdom under King Henry VIII.'

might be instances remaining of immorality among the clergy requiring to be looked into. Fresh care was to be taken that copies of the Bible were accessible in the parish churches, and translations of Erasmus's *Paraphrase of the New Testament* were provided as a commentary. There was no objection, either, to touching, if the hand was delicate, the local practices—half-superstitious, half-imaginative—in use among the people. Customs which arise out of feeling become mischievous when made a law to the understanding, and there was reason in the general warning which the visitors were to enforce, 'that, while laudable ceremonies might decently be observed, they might be abused to the peril of the soul'—as, for instance (and the list throws an interesting light on ancient English usages), 'in casting holy water upon the beds, upon images, and other dead things; or bearing about holy bread, or St John's Gospel, or keeping of private holydays, as bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such others do, or ringing of holy bells, or blessing with the holy candle, to the intent to be discharged of the burden of sin, or to drive away devils, or put away dreams and fantasies.'[1]

The spirit of the innovations, however, was destructive merely, and customs which were interwoven in the details of common life could not rudely be torn away with impunity. To most men habit is the moral costume which saves them from barbarism; and al-

[1] The various instructions for the visitation of 1547 are printed in BURNET'S *Collectanea*, FULLER'S *Church History*, STRYPE'S *Memorials of the Reformation*, and JENKYNS'S *Cranmer*.

though there are costumes which may be worse than nakedness, it is one thing to do what is right — it is another to do it rightly and at the right opportunity.

The *Book of Homilies* was a further element of discord. It was a perilous risk to throw abroad upon the world, as authoritative, a body of doctrine sanctioned neither by Convocation nor by Parliament. The Protector would have done better if he had waited till the political horizon was less clouded before he threw fresh fuel on the doctrinal controversies; and two calamities in the first half-year of his government, one of which it was his immediate duty to have attempted to avert, had not improved the prospects of the well-wishers of the Reformation.

April 21. On the evening of the 21st of April Charles V., with his Spanish infantry, was on the banks of the Elbe at Muhlberg. The Elector, who had driven Maurice out of Saxony in March, was across the river falling leisurely back upon Wittenberg, while the rafts and barges which had formed the floating bridge were drifting in flames down the stream, and the water was between himself and the enemy. John Frederick pitched his camp at a few miles' distance with no thought of danger. In the darkness the Castilians swam after the blazing boats, quenched the fire, and secured them, and before dawn there was again a bridge passable for artillery. The Emperor, on his bay horse, glittering in gilded armour, rode breast-high through the river, and caught the Protestants in their sleep. By the evening they were a

rout of scattered fugitives, and the Elector was a prisoner.

If Somerset thought the English but lightly concerned in the catastrophe, there were those whom he ought to have feared who thought of it far differently. The fathers at Bologna offered up their thanksgivings. The Pope forgave the carnal policy which he had condemned in his joy at its success, and sending a legate with his congratulations, suggested again that now was the time for the 'expedition into Britain.'[1]

No effort, however, which the English Government could have made would have averted the defeat of the Lutherans. The other misfortune was as easy to have been prevented as its consequences were ruinous. On the 21st of June, while the Protector was reforming the Church, and the English fleets were loitering in harbour, twenty-one French galleys, escorting transports loaded with French troops and French artillery, sailed up the Channel, and appeared under the walls of St Andrews. By the last agreement with the Regent the garrison were to remain in possession until absolution could be obtained for them from Rome. It was brought in language enigmatic as the answers from the Delphic tripod; *Remittimus irremissibile*—we pardon the act which admits of no pardon. With this they were required to be contented, and when they refused, the siege was commenced. June.

Among the fugitive Protestants who had taken re-

[1] Pallavicino.

July. fuge there were two preachers—Rough, who was afterwards burnt by Bonner, and John Knox, who in that wild scene and wild company commenced his ministry. The garrison looked for help from England. Knox, with a shrewd insight which never failed him, told them that they should not see it. They talked of their walls. Their walls, he said, would be 'as egg-shells' against French cannon. The galleys fired on the castle from the sea: the batteries fired from the trenches and from the tower of the abbey. Heat and confinement brought the plague; and on the last of July, after six weeks' resistance, the defenders surrendered, under promise only of life, to the French commander. They were carried prisoners on board the galleys, while the castle itself, as the scene of a legate's murder was razed to the ground.

Without an effort to save them, the Scots, who had delivered England from the most dangerous and most successful of her enemies, were permitted to be overcome, not by a sudden attack, but by a long siege deliberately commenced and deliberately maintained; not at a place far inland and difficult of access, but on the sea, where the English affected a superiority, and at least could have forced a battle.

The attack, if not provoked, had been hastened by the injudicious pretensions which Somerset had advanced; and by his neglect he taught the Scottish Protestants that they could have no reliance upon him. The great families who had been gained over to the English interest, continued a pretended good feeling,

but were alienated at heart; and no one any more would risk the odium of espousing so thankless a cause.

The hope of accomplishing the marriage otherwise than by force had now to be deliberately abandoned. At this conclusion the Protector had already arrived, and it was on this account that he had abandoned St Andrews to its fate. Careless of small things, and weary of the tedious labour of gaining over Scotland by supporting an English faction, he had resolved upon a gigantic invasion, which once and for ever should terminate the difficulty. In deference to the French menaces, he disavowed, indeed, his claims to the Scottish crown; and as the Scots were comprehended in the treaty of peace, an excuse was necessary for attacking them. But a pretext was found easily in the perpetual skirmishes which distracted the Borders—the English laying the fault upon the Scots, the Scots complaining that, without provocation, their homesteads were burnt over their heads.

War with France might or might not follow. The Protector was confident and indifferent. The Bishop of Winchester cautioned him in private.[1] The council, it is likely, disclaimed a share of the responsibility;[2] but

[1] 'If I was sworn to say what I think of the world, I would for a time let Scots be Scots, with despair to have them unless it were by conquest, which shall be a goodly enterprise for our young master when he cometh of age, and in the mean time prepare him money for it, and set the realm in an order that it hath need of.'—Gardiner to the Protector: Foxe, vol. vi. p. 25.

[2] As much as this seems to be implied in a subsequent letter of Paget's, remonstrating with the Protector for refusing generally to listen to advice: 'Alas, sir, take pity of the King, and of the conservation and state of the realm. Put no more

he had chosen his course, and would follow it. The first intention was to follow the precedent of 1544, and send an army by sea to Leith. But a comparative estimate of expenses showed but a small balance in favour of water transport, while the havoc which would be inflicted by the march of a large force would more than compensate for the loss. It was determined to advance from the Border to Edinburgh along the coast, a fleet with the baggage and the commissariat reserve accompanying the march. There was no thought of permanent occupation. The Protector's aim was to strike a blow with all his might, which should bring the country stunned upon its knees; he was going to enter Scotland at the head of 18,000 men, go as far as he could, and inflict as much injury as he could in three weeks or a month, and then return. The necessary stores were collected in August at Berwick.[1] The

August.

so many irons in the fire at once as you have had within this twelvemonth — war with Scotland, with France, though it be not so termed, commissions out for that matter, new laws for this, proclamations for another. When the whole council shall join in a matter, and your Grace travel to outreason them in it, and wrest them by reason of your authority to bow to it, or first show your own opinion in a matter, and then ask theirs; alas, sir, how shall this gear do well?'—Paget to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office.

[1] 'The estimate of the different things provided for the army is curiously illustrative of the nature of an English campaign in the sixteenth century.

'An estimate for victuals for twenty-eight days, as well for bread and drink as provender for horses and beasts.

'1. For 8 days' biscuit, 18,000 lbs. a day, is in 8 days 144,000 pounds weight, which will take in wheat meal 400 quarters.

'2. Also in wine 110 tonne, after 200 gallons in a tonne.

'3. Also provender for horses and beasts, 1420 quarters; all the which is ready at Berwick saving

daily consumption of food calculated for every soldier being two pounds of meat, a pound of bread or biscuit, and a pint of wine imperial measure. If the fighting of the troops depended on their stomachs, good precaution had been taken to secure a victory. The command in chief was held by Somerset in person, supported by Warwick and Grey. The fleet was assigned to Lord Clinton.

The effect of these preparations in Scotland was, as might have been foreseen, to unite all ranks and all opinions in the national cause. Beton was gone, and the Regent was feeble, but Scotland rose of herself, unso-

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wine and baking of the biscuit, which wine must be sent to Berwick, and bakers for the biscuit.

'There must be sent unto the Frith, for 20 days more, after the like rate and proportion:

'1. Biscuit, 36,000 lbs., and 220 tonne of sweet wine; and in provender 3510 quarters; and as for flesh, it shall be taken out of the carriage.

'2. And the carriage that must be provided by the King's Majesty for victual, provender, and ordnance is 262 carts, which may well be purveyed in York, where the great oxen be, and best wains.

'All which biscuit will take 28 days, with the largess of wheat, 1510 quarters, which after the rate of 13 shillings and 4 pence the quarter, amounteth to 1000*l.*; and for sweet wine, which will take 560 butts, after six score gallons in a butt, and after 5*l.* the butt, amounteth to 2800*l.*; and for carriage of the same, 262 carts, which will cost, after 2 shillings a cart a day, by the space of 50 days coming and going, 1510*l.*

'Whereof must be received for 18,000 men, after 2*d.* the man the day for bread and drink, 4200*l.* After 2½*d.* the man the day, 4914*l.*; after 3*d.* the man the day, 5944*l.*; so that after 2*d.* the man the day, the victual will be more than the receit 910*l.*; after 2½*d.*, 196*l.* more than the receit; after 3*d.* there shall be more received than the victuals draweth unto, towards the charge of bringing the victuals by sea, 834*l.*

'Also for two pounds of flesh 1½*d.*: and so every soldier shall have for his 4½*d.* one pound of biscuit, a pottell of drink, and two pounds of flesh.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. iii. State Paper Office.

licited. Although the affectation of a correspondence might still be maintained, the English party had, in fact, perished in the abandonment of St Andrews. The Douglases and the Reformers were as forward to take the field as the Hamiltons and the priests. The fiery cross sped north and south, east and west. The Scots of the Isles brought up four thousand Irish archers. Priest and prelate and preacher buckled on his armour; and the baron from his Lowland castle, the Highland chief from his home among the crags of the Grampians, the trader from his desk, the night rider of the Border from his tower and peel, hurried to the gathering of the nation. Feuds of clans and enmities of creeds were no longer felt in the overpowering peril of Scottish freedom; there was one people with one cause; and the crowds who had listened to Wishart, and the kinsmen of those who were carried off prisoners for revenging his murder, were content to fight behind a banner on which a lady representing the Catholic Church was kneeling to Christ, and praying Him to save her from heresy.

In the last week in August, Somerset reached Berwick. He had sent before him a letter to the Scottish lords, repeating the language which he had learnt from his master, insisting on their promises, and urging the common interests of both nations in the marriage.[1] On Friday, the 2nd September, he put out a proclamation, though too late to undo his former errors, in which he

[1] HAYWARD'S *Life of Edward VI.*

said that he was not come to rob Scotland of her independence, but to compel her, in spite of herself, to accomplish the engagements of her Parliament.[1]

Waiting till Sunday, for Sunday was his favourite day—on a Sunday he announced to Edward that he was King, on a Sunday he accepted from the council his dukedom and his lands, on a Sunday the seals were taken away from his rival Wriothesley, on a Sunday the commission was dated which made him Protector by the grace of the King—waiting, therefore, till Sunday, and invoking on his enterprise the blessing of the Almighty, he crossed the Tweed with fifteen cannon, fourteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse.[2] Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday

Sunday, Sept. 4.

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[1] HOLINSHED.

[2] Somerset's being one of the disputed characters in history, everything is welcome which throws light upon his inner nature. In the prayers of men it is hard to tell how much is real—they often cannot tell themselves; nevertheless, one reads with interest,

THE PRAYER OF THE PROTECTOR BEFORE THE SCOTTISH WAR.

'Most merciful God, the granter of all peace and quietness, the giver of all good gifts, the defender of all nations, who hast willed all men to be accounted as our neighbours, and commanded us to love them as ourself, and not to hate our enemies, but rather to wish them, yea, and also to do them good if we can, bow down thy holy and merciful eyes upon us, and look upon the small portion of the earth which professeth thy holy name and thy Son Jesus Christ. Give to us all desire of peace, unity, and quietness, and a speedy wearisomeness of all war, hostility, and enmity to all them that be our enemies, that we and they may in one heart and charitable agreement, praise thy Holy Name, and reform our lives to thy godly commandment. And especially have an eye to this small Isle of Britain; and that which was begun by thy great and infinite mercy and love to the unity and concord of both the nations, that the Scottishmen and we might hereafter live in one love and amity, knit into one nation by the most happy and godly

he marched steadily forward, keeping the sea-road with the fleet in sight of him, demolishing such small fortresses as lay in his route, but turning neither to the right nor the left. Wednesday he passed Dunbar within long cannon range, but without waiting to attack it; and that night he halted at Seton Castle. Thursday he again advanced over the ground where fourteen years later Mary Stuart, the object of his enterprise, practised archery with Bothwell, ten days after her husband's murder. The route lay along a ridge, with the sea on one side; on the other a low range of marshy meadows; nothing happening of consequence on that day, except that an English officer, observing a party of the enemy

Sept. 7.

Sept. 8.

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marriage of the King's Majesty our Sovereign Lord and the young Scottish Queen, whereunto provision and agreement hath been heretofore most firmly made by human order. Grant, oh Lord, that the same might go forward, and that our sons' sons, and all our posterity hereafter may feel the benefit and commodity thereof. Thy great gift of unity grant in our days. Confound all those that worketh against it. Let not their counsel prevail. Diminish their strength. Lay thy sword of punishment upon them that interrupteth this godly peace; or rather convert their hearts to the better way, and make them embrace that unity and peace which shall be most for thy glory and the profit of both the realms. Put away from us all war and hostility; and if we be driven thereto, hold thy holy and strong power and defence over us. Be our garrison, our shield and buckler; and seeing we seek but a perpetual amity and concord, and performance of quietness promised in thy name, pursue the same with us and send thy holy angels to be our aid, that either none at all, or else so little loss and effusion of Christian blood as can, be made thereby. Look not, oh Lord, upon our sins or the sins of our enemies what they deserve; but have regard to thy most plenteous and abundant mercy, which passeth all thy works, being so infinite and marvellous. Do this, oh Lord, for thy Son's sake Jesus Christ.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. ii. State Paper Office.

hiding in a cave, stopped the opening, threw in fire, and smothered them. The march was short. Soon after the Protector had passed Prestonpans, famous also in Stuart history, he came in sight of the whole Scottish army, encamped on the slopes of Musselburgh, the English vessels lying in the Forth just out of gunshot of their tents.

In numbers the Scots almost doubled the English. The following morning Clinton sent boats on shore to communicate. Fifteen hundred Scotch cavalry and a few hundred pikemen came out to cut off the landing party, and provoke a skirmish. Sir Ralph Bulmer and Lord Grey, with some companies of Italians in the English service, dashed forward to engage them, and after a sharp scuffle of three hours, the Scots were driven back. In these bloody combats neither party cared to encumber themselves with prisoners, except where there was a likelihood of ransom, and thirteen hundred bodies were left dead upon the ground. The Duke, when the skirmish was ended, rode forward to examine the enemy's position. The sea was on their left, on their right a deep impracticable marsh. Between the two armies ran the Esk, low and half dry after the summer heat, but with high steep banks, and passable for horse or cannon only by a bridge, distant something less than a quarter of a mile from the mouth. Across the bridge, from camp to camp, there ran a road thirty feet wide, enclosed between turf hedges, along which Somerset advanced with his escort. The Scots fired upon him, and killed

Sept. 9.

the horse of an aide-de-camp at his side; but he crossed the bridge, rode within two bowshots of the Scottish lines, and was returning at his leisure, when he was overtaken by a herald bringing him a challenge from the Earl of Huntley to fight out the quarrel either by themselves alone, or ten to ten, or twenty to twenty

The time was passing away when disputes of nations could be settled by duels: Somerset's courage was unimpeachable, but he refused: the Earl of Warwick offered to take his place, but it could not be; the herald retired, and as the night closed, the English artillery was ordered forward to command the road. The enemy's position was dangerously strong; the morning would show if there was a practicable mode of assaulting it; but if the Scots had sat still to receive the attack, the defeat of Flodden might, perhaps, have been revenged at Musselburgh. As soon, however, as they had ascertained the extent of the force which the Protector had brought with him, confident in their numbers, their cause, and their enthusiasm, they began to think less of defeating the English than of preventing their escape. They persuaded themselves that, conscious of their inferiority, the invaders thought only of retreat, and that the fleet was in attendance to take them on board. When the day broke Somerset found them already across the water, their tents thrown down that not a loiterer might remain concealed there; the main body covering the hills between himself and the land to the south, the four thousand Irish archers in front of him towards the sea. The latter, as

Sept. 10.

soon as daylight permitted, were fired into from the ships, and were rapidly scattered. The Scots on the other side pushed on in force, intending, evidently, to seize the ridges in the rear, where they would have the advantage of ground, wind, and sun, and, if victorious, would destroy the entire English army.

Their horses they had left behind, their heavy guns they had dragged up by hand, and they were moving with the greatest speed that they could command; but the Protector was in time to alter his dispositions, and secure the hills immediately behind him. His cannon was brought back and placed to cover the ground over which the Scots would pass to attack the camp, and Grey, with the English horse, prepared to charge. The Earl of Angus, with 'the professors of the Gospel,' the heavy pikemen of the Lowlands, eight thousand strong, was leading; Arran was behind on the low ground with ten thousand more; and Huntley, with eight thousand Highlanders and the remains of the Irish, towards the stream, out of range from the fleet. On Angus the brunt of the battle was first to fall. He halted when he discovered that the English intended not to fly but to fight; but he could not fall back; the ground was unfavourable for cavalry—a wet fallow recently turned—and the pikemen formed to receive the charge, the first rank kneeling. Down upon them came Grey, with a heavy plunging gallop, but the horses were without barbs, and the lances were shorter than the Scottish pikes. Down as they closed rolled fifty men and horses, amidst the crash of breaking spears. Grey himself was

wounded in the mouth; Sir Arthur Darcy's hand was disabled, and the English standard was saved only by the flight of the bearer. The men turned, reeled, scattered, and rallied only when Grey and Lord Edward Seymour fought back their way to them out of the *mêlée*. They might as well charge, they said, upon a wall of steel.

But the line of the Scots which the enemy could not break was broken by victory. As they saw the English fly they rushed on in pursuit, and found themselves face to face with Warwick, the men-at-arms, and the Italian musketeers. Checked by the volleys of the matchlocks, and thrown into confusion, they were assailed next by the archers, and forced to cross the fire of the artillery; and the cavalry, once more forming, swept again upon their disordered lines, and drove the struggling mass back upon their comrades. Ill trained and undisciplined, the reserves were seized with panic; Arran and Huntley turned bridle and rode for their lives, and the whoops and yells of the Irish increased the terror; there was no thought of fighting more—it was only who could fly first and fly fastest. They flung away their arms: swords, pikes, and lances strewed the ground where they had been drawn up, 'as thick,' it was said, 'as rushes in a chamber.'[1] Some crept under the willow pollards in the meadows, and lay concealed like otters with their mouths above the water; some made for Edinburgh, some along the sands to Leith under the fire of the fleet,

[1] HOLINSHED, from the account of an eye-witness.

some up the river-side towards Dalkeith ; some lay as if dead and let the chase pass by them. The Highlanders held together and saved themselves with an orderly retreat, but the crowd fell unresisting victims under the sabres of the avenging cavalry. It was a massacre more than a battle ; for, of the English, at most, not more than two hundred fell, and those chiefly at the first charge under the lances of the pikemen ; the number of Scots killed was from ten to fourteen thousand. Two causes provoked the English, it was said, to an especial vindictiveness ; they resented ungenerously their own first repulse ; but the chief reason was the treacherous surprise at Ancram Muir, and the death of Lord Evers, the hero of the Border troopers. Fifteen hundred prisoners were taken, but in general no quarter was given Gentlemen might have been spared for their ransoms ; but, for some unknown cause, the noble and the peasant were dressed alike in white leather or fustian ; there was little to distinguish them, and they were cut down in indiscriminate heaps along the roads and fields to the very walls of Edinburgh. Multitudes of priests, at one time, it was said, as many as four thousand, were among the slain. The banner of the kneeling Lady was taken amidst the scorn of the victors ; and when at last the retreat was sounded, and the pursuers, weary with killing, gathered again into their camp, they sent up a shout which legend said was heard in Edinburgh Castle. The day closed with one more act of barbarity. A detachment of Scots had been stationed with cannon in a small fort overlooking the field, and had given some

trouble. When the battle was lost, they were left behind and unable to fly; they silenced their guns, therefore, and concealed themselves, intending to withdraw in the night. But they were discovered and surrounded; they were not offered the alternative of surrender; the place was set on fire, and they were destroyed.

In this deed of savageness closed the battle of Musselburgh, otherwise called Pinkie Cleugh or Slough; the last stricken field between Scot and Saxon before the union of the Crowns, the last and also the most piteous. A battle loses its terrors when a great cause is contended for, when it is a condition under which some interest or principle makes its way and establishes itself. But of Pinkie Cleugh the result was unmixed evil to both countries. The marriage of Mary and Edward was an object which England and Scotland ought to have equally desired. Yet England sought it by means which made it impossible, and the Scotch command more sympathy in the disaster brought upon them by their national pride than the conquerors command admiration either for their cause or for their courage. National qualities are not to be measured by single consequences, and while indignation only can be felt at the crooked tricks of Beton, but for which the union would have been peaceably effected, the spirit which rose up against the invasion of Somerset had its source in the noblest instincts of the Scottish character. The Protector had gained a great battle, and by his victory he only renewed the lease of enmity which had almost expired. The Scots forgot their own differences in a great

hatred of England, and the hearts of all parties among them turned passionately to France. Although the available military strength of the nation was for the moment annihilated, the conquerors could not follow up their success. The Queen was withdrawn to Stirling, and they could not reach her. They had brought supplies with them for a month only, and so long and no longer could they remain; neither force nor payment could extract the means of subsistence from a country where it did not exist; there were no more stores in readiness to be brought up from England, and Scotland, unsuccessful in her arms, drove the invaders back by her hardy poverty.

Leith was again burnt—so much of it as would burn: the ships in the harbour were taken and destroyed; two islands in the Forth were fortified, and small garrisons left there; a few castles were dismantled. These alone were the tangible fruits of the bloody inroad of the Duke of Somerset. Sept. 11.

But at least he had surrounded himself with glory. He did not return with the Queen of Scots, but he had fought and won a great battle. He was the hero of the hour, and while the hour lasted, he could work his will in Church or State without fear of opposition.

When he set out for Scotland, the ecclesiastical visitors were in full activity. From the people, wherever they went, they met with no open opposition; in London they were indisputably popular. In London, the old, the timid, the superstitious, the imaginative, prayed in secret to the saints to deliver them from evil;

but the industrious masses had caught the spirit of the age, and gave the changes cordial welcome. So it had been at Portsmouth; so it was in the towns generally, especially in the towns along the coast, where activity and enterprise shook the minds of men out of the control of routine. So, however, it was not in the country, as events came in time to show. As with the first spread of Christianity, so with the spread of the Reformation, the towns went first, and the country lagged behind reluctantly. The life of towns was a life of change; the life of the country was a life of uniformity, where sons walked in the ways of their fathers, and each day and season brought with it its occupation, its custom, or its ceremony, unaltered for tens of generations. The fall of the abbeys had given the first shock to the stationary spirit, but the crimes of the monks were half forgotten in the sadness of their desolate homes. It was no light thing to the village peasant to see the royal arms staring above the empty socket of the crucifix to which he had prayed, the saints after which he was named in his baptism flung out into the mud, the pictures on the church walls daubed with plaster, over which his eyes had wandered wonderingly in childhood.

Other changes added to his restlessness. The Acts of Parliament which forbade enclosures and the amalgamation of farms were less and less observed; the peasant farmers were more and more declining into labourers, rents were rising, and the necessaries of life were rising, and, in the experience of the agricultural poor, an increase of personal suffering was the chief result of the so-called Reformation.

Yet for the moment loyalty was stronger than discontent. If the country people murmured, they submitted, and the visitors met with important resistance only from the notorious Bishops of Winchester and of London. To Bonner they brought their injunctions and homilies at the end of August. He accepted them, but he accepted them with a protest; he could observe them, he said, only if they were not contrary to God's law and the ordinances of his Church, and he required the visitors to enter his conditions in the register. His answer was reported to the council, and was held to be to the evil example of such as should hear it, and to the contempt of the authority which the King justly possessed as head of the Church of England.[1] The Bishop of London was committed to the Fleet,[2] where, after eight days' meditation, he repented. A form of submission was drawn up for him peculiarly ignominious; he signed it, and was released.[3]

The resistance of Gardiner was more skilful and more protracted. Up to the Protector's departure he had continued an anxious correspondence with him. Unlimited license had been allowed both to pulpit and

[1] *Privy Council Records, MS.* Edward VI.

[2] In the Protector's absence, Cranmer must be considered the person responsible for measures of this kind.

[3] 'Where I did unadvisedly make such a protestation, as now upon better consideration of my duty of obedience and of the ill example that may ensue to others thereof, appears to me neither reasonable, nor such as might stand with the duty of a subject; and forasmuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then by the registrar of that visitation enacted and put in record, I do now revoke my said protestation; and I beseech your lordships that this revocation may likewise be put in the same records for a perpetual memory of the truth.'—Bonner's Recantation, printed in BURNET'S *Collectanea.*

printing press; John Bale, the noisiest, the most profane, the most indecent of the movement party, had been pouring out pamphlets and plays.[1] Gardiner wrote in protest to Somerset against the toleration by the Government of the insolence and brutality of him and others like him. He remonstrated also against the sudden alteration of doctrine contemplated in the homilies; and three weeks before the visitors were coming to Winchester, he was invited, at his own earnest request, to state his views to the council. 'If he could have written with the blood of his heart,' he told the Protector, 'he would have done it, to have stayed the thing till it had been more maturely digested.'[2] The whole proceedings on the visitation, he said, were illegal. No royal commission could have place against an Act of Parliament;[3] and even in the late King's

[1] The character of which, and the writer's character, may be judged from the following specimen. In one of his farces a priest is introduced, who, on the stage, offers the following prayer:—

'Omnipotens et sempiterne Deus, qui in usum nostrum formasti laicos, concede quæsumus ut eorum uxoribus et filiabus—' The reader must imagine, or had better not imagine, the rest.

[2] Gardiner to the Protector: *MS. Harleian*, 417. Printed by FOXE, vol. vi.

[3] It is to be remembered that, throughout the correspondence, Gardiner speaks as if the Protector was being dragged on by Cranmer against his will. The Protector had once, he said, promised him that 'he would suffer no innovations.' According to Gardiner, it was not the Protector who caused the deposition of Wriothesley: 'Your Grace,' he said, 'showed so much favour to him that all the world commended your gentleness.' 'For the visitation,' he added, 'I saw a determination to do all things suddenly at one time, whereunto, although your Grace agreed, yet of your wisdom I conjectured ye had rather had it tarry till your return if ye had not been pressed. That word 'pressed,' I noted in your letter to me, when ye wrote ye were pressed on both sides; and methought if, by bringing my-

reign, he said the prerogative had more than once come in collision with the law, and had been worsted by it.[1]

self into most extreme danger in your absence, I could have stayed the matter, beside my duty to God and my Sovereign Lord, I had done you a pleasure.' — Correspondence of Gardiner with the Protector: FOXE, vol. vi. On the other hand, Paget, in the letter of remonstrance to which I have referred, speaks as if Somerset listened to no one whose views did not coincide with his own.

[1] He mentions curious instances: —'Whether a king may command against a common law or an Act of Parliament, there is never a judge or other man in the realm ought to know more by experience of that the laws have said than I.

'First, my Lord Cardinal, that obtained his legacy by our late Sovereign Lord's requirements at Rome, yet, because it was against the laws of the realm, the judges concluded the offence of Premunire, which matter I bare away, and took it for a law of the realm, because the lawyers said so, but my reason digested it not. The lawyers, for confirmation of their doings, brought in the case of Lord Tiptoft. An earl he was, and learned in the civil laws, who being chancellor, because in execution of the King's commandment he offended the laws of the realm, suffered on Tower Hill. They brought in examples of many judges that had fines set on their heads in like cases for transgression of laws by the King's commandment, and this I learned in that case.

'Since that time being of the council, when many proclamations were devised against the carriers out of corn, when it came to punish the offender, the judges would answer it might not be by the law, because the Act of Parliament gave liberty, wheat being under a price. Whereupon at last followed the Act of Proclamations, in the passing whereof were many large words spoken.'

After mentioning other cases, he goes on:—

'I reasoned once in the Parliament House, where there was free speech without danger; and the Lord Audely, to satisfy me, because I was in some secret estimation, as he knew, 'Thou art a good fellow, Bishop,' quoth he; 'look at the Act of Supremacy, and there the King's doings be restrained to spiritual jurisdiction; and in another Act no spiritual law shall have place contrary to a common law, or an Act of Parliament. An this were not,' quoth he, 'you bishops would enter in with the King, and by means of his supremacy order the laws as ye listed. But we will provide,' quoth he, 'that the Premunire shall never go off your heads.' This I bare away then, and held my peace.'—Gardiner to the Protector: *MS. Harleian*, 417; FOXE, vol. vi.

The council permitted him to speak; but his plea of the law they set aside by the plea of their consciences; and they required him categorically to say whether he would or would not submit to the visitors. He said that he had three weeks in which to decide before they would come to him. At present he believed he could not submit, but he might change. The servant in the parable refused to do his master's will, and yet afterwards did it. It was hard to treat him as a criminal for an offence which, if offence it was, he had not yet committed, and might not commit.

October. But Cranmer chose to be obeyed. He summoned Gardiner privately before him at the deanery of St Paul's, and he told him that, if he would comply, he should be restored to the council, where his assistance would be welcomed. But Gardiner was unable to give the required promise, and was committed, like Bonner, to the Fleet. 'I have held my office sixteen years,' he wrote to Sir John Godsalve, who was one of the visitors; 'I have studied only how I may depart with it without offence to God's law; and I shall think the tragedy of my life well passed over, so I offend not God's law nor the King's; I will no more care to see my bishopric taken from me than myself taken from my bishopric; I am by nature already condemned to die, which sentence no man can pardon.'[1]

Gardiner had endeavoured to destroy Cranmer. It was no more than retaliation that he suffered a small

[1] Gardiner to Sir John Godsalve; BURNET'S *Collectanea.*

injustice in his turn at Cranmer's hand. But injustice it was; his arbitrary committal had no pretext of law for it; nor, it seems, were he and Bonner the only sufferers. On the return of the Protector from Scotland, the imprisoned Bishop appealed to him in language which was not the less just because it was used by one who, when in power, knew as little what justice meant.

'Whatever become of me,' he said, 'I would your Grace did well; men be mortal, and deeds revive: and methinketh my Lord of Canterbury doth well thus to entangle your Grace with this matter of religion, and to borrow of your authority the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and the King's Bench, with prisonment in his house, wherewith to cause men to agree to that it pleaseth him to call truth in religion, not stablished by any law in the realm. A law it is not yet, and before a law made I have not seen such an imprisonment as I sustain. Our late sovereign lord, whom God pardon, suffered every man to say his mind without imprisonment, till the matter was established by law. If my Lord of Canterbury hath the strength of God's Spirit, with such a learning in his laws, as to be able to overthrow with that breath all untruth, and establish truths, I would not desire the let of it by your Grace, nor the work of God's truth any way hindered; in which case it shall be easy to reprove me in the face of the world with the sword of God's Scriptures, which he should rather desire to do, than borrow the sword your

Grace hath the rule of, which is a mean to slander all that is done.'[1]

But Parliament was now to meet. The Protector came back from Scotland surrounded with a halo of splendour; London proposed to receive him with a triumphal procession; and, although he declined this excess of honour, the mayor and aldermen met him on Finsbury fields in their robes, and formed his escort to the palace. Fresh distinctions were heaped on him by the council; his designation in future was to run in royal phrase—Edward, by the grace of God, Duke of Somerset, Protector of the Realm.[2] An order was issued in the name of the boy King that 'our uncle shall sit alone, and be placed at all times, as well in our presence at our court of Parliament, as in our absence, next on the right hand of our seat royal in our Parliament chamber.'[3]

In the midst of the sunshine, a few motes indeed were visible besides the imprisonment of Gardiner. Memoranda appear, in the council books and official papers, of complaints in the fleet on account of unpaid wages. The bills of the Antwerp money dealers, instead of being paid, had been renewed on interest, and fresh loans contracted. The bad money had not only not been called in, but more had been coined, and still the exchequer was running low. Lists were drawn of all gentlemen in

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[1] Gardiner to the Protector: FOXE, vol. vi.

[2] The Titles of the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. i. State Paper Office.

[3] Place of the Protector in Parliament: *MS.* Ibid. vol. ii.

England with lands over forty pounds a year who had not compounded for their knighthoods, with a view to a levy of fines;[1] and a commission was designed to examine how far the Crown had been rightly dealt with in the disposition of confiscated estates.

These matters, however, were behind the scenes. Parliament assembled at Westminster on the 4th November, and Musselburgh was a sufficient guarantee that Somerset's influence would be omnipotent. The spirit of the hour was of universal benevolence. The Six Articles Bill was repealed. The Bills of Henry IV. and Henry V. against the Lollards were repealed. England had entered a golden age, when there was to be no more treason, no more conspiracy, no more hankering after the Pope or foreign invaders. And as, in the words of the Parliament, 'in tempest or winter one cover and garment was convenient, in calm or warm weather a more liberal case and lighter garment both might and ought to be used, the severe laws made by the King's Highness's father, good and useful as they had been in the past bad times, were held to be needed no longer. The Act of Words, and the sharper clauses of the Act of Supremacy, were blotted out of the statute book; and offences under those, or any other Acts which in the late reign had been raised into treason or felony, not having been treason or felony before, fell back into misdemeanours.[2] Gar-

Nov. 4.

[1] Privy Council Memoranda: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. ii. State Paper Office.

[2] 1 Edward VI. cap. 12. The repeal was not carried without a conference between the Houses, nor

diner was in the Fleet, but Gardiner was an exception, and persecution as such was to be at an end.[1]

'The King,' nevertheless, 'desired unity and concord in religion;' and although 'he wished the same to be brought to pass with all clemency and mercy, and although he wished that his loving subjects should study rather for love than for fear to do their duties to Almighty God;'—there were yet profanities which could not wholly be tolerated, and those who spoke irreverently and profanely of the Eucharist might be punished with fine and imprisonment.[2] The concluding clause of this statute enjoined communion in both kinds[3] on laity as well as clergy; and in jealousy of the abused power of excommunication, the parish priest was pro-

was it approved of as universally as we might expect. Sir John Mason found fault with the alterations in a remarkable compliment to the English people. 'In all other countries,' he said, 'speeches are at liberty, for such are the people's natures, as when they have talked they have done. In our country it is otherwise, for their talking is preparatory to doing; and the worst act that ever was done in our time was the general abolishing of the Act of Words by the Duke of Somerset, whereof we have already had some experience.'—Mason to the Council: *MS. Germany*, Bundle 16, Mary, State Paper Office.

[1] The popular party thought of Gardiner what the witty Duchess of Suffolk said to himself when she passed his prison and saw him at the window. 'Ah, Bishop,' she said, 'it is merry with the lambs when the wolves are shut up.'—*Narrative of the Sufferings of Catherine Duchess of Suffolk:* HOLINSHED.

[2] 1 Edward VI. cap. 1.

[3] The Act was entitled as 'Against such as irreverently speak against the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, commonly called the sacrament of the altar.' In the preamble of the Act the sacrament of the altar was again spoken of, but with the addition, 'called in Scripture the supper and table of the Lord.' The institution was carefully described; but the change in the elements was neither affirmed nor denied. It is curious to watch the slow steps by which the central mystery of Catholicism was invaded.

hibited from refusing the sacrament to any one who reverently desired it. The *congé d'élire* was next abolished in the election of bishops. There was to be no longer any affectation or delusion as to their position. They held their commissions under the Crown; they were nominated by the Crown; the supposed choice by a dean and chapter was a hypocritical fiction, and should exist no longer, and like institutions and processes in the spiritual courts, their appointments were to run for the future in the name of the King.[1]

Lest the validity of these changes should be questioned on account of the King's minority, the Act giving him power of repealing them on coming of age was reviewed and altered. All laws passed during a minority were declared good and valid for the time being; and although the King himself might reconsider, at a later period, the legislation which had been conducted in his name, the power was not to extend to his successor, should he die meanwhile.[2]

While Parliament was thus employed, Convocation had assembled as usual. The clergy were disconcerted to find that, slight as had been the respect with which they had been treated in the late reign, they were treated with less in the present. Questions, not only of Church policy, but of doctrine, were discussed and disposed of by the laity without so much as the form of consulting those to whom, until these late times, they had exclusively belonged; while the submission of the clergy to

[1] 1 Edward VI. cap. 2.

[2] Ibid. cap. 11.

Henry VIII. precluded them from holding discussions in their own houses without license from the Crown. Discontented, not unnaturally, with the shadowy vitality which remained to them, they petitioned Cranmer, first briefly, then at elaborate length, that statutes concerning matters of religion and ecclesiastical ordinances might not pass without their consent; and finding their complaints treated with indifference, or anticipating the neglect of them, they repeated the attempts which had been made unsuccessfully by the Irish clergy a few years before. In the writs of summons addressed to Bishops at the opening of Parliament, the clause 'Præmonentes'[1] implied that deans, archdeacons, and the proctors of the clergy were an integral part of the legislature. They petitioned that they might now be 'associated with the Commons in the nether House of Parliament.'

The letter of the writs was on their side, but precedent was against their claim, and that precedent had been set by themselves. In the days of their power the clergy had divided themselves from Parliament, claiming a right to assemble at their own time and by their own authority, and to legislate separately at their own pleasure. Their ambition recoiled upon themselves. As they had constituted themselves a separate body, a

[1] Præmonentes Decanum et Capitulum ecclesiæ vestræ ac Archidiaconos totumque Clerum vestræ diœcesis quod iidem Decanus et Archidiaconi in propriis personis, ac dictum Capitulum per unum, idemque Clerum per duos Procuratores idoneos plenam et sufficientem potestatem ab ipsis Capitulo et Clero divisim habentes, prædictis die et loco personaliter intersint ad consentiendum his quæ tum ibidem de Communi Consilio dicti Regni nostri divinâ favente clementiâ contigerit ordinari.

separate body they should continue—or, rather, a disembodied ghost. They were not permitted to fall back upon privileges which they had voluntarily abandoned;[1] the Lords and Commons continued to do their work for them; and, amongst other things discussed, was a question in which, if in any, they might in reason expect to have been consulted. The Lower House, on the 20th of December, sent up a bill 'that lay and married men might be priests and have benefices.'[2] Consenting reluctantly to innovation where custom and prejudice had so strong a hold, it would seem that the first measure of relief which they contemplated was a compromise. Laymen having wives already might be ordained; those who were ordained while unmarried, would still remain single. The bill, however, was unsatisfactory. In the Lords it was read once, on the 21st December: Parliament was prorogued a few days after, and it was dropped.

Dec. 20.

Dec. 21.

Two other measures which were passed in this session require attention. The vagrancy laws of the late reign were said to have failed from over-severity. Al-

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[1] Petitions of the Lower House of Convocation to the Archbishop of Canterbury: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, pp. 264, 265.

[2] *Lords Journals*, December 20, 1547. One could wish that some draught of this bill had survived. It is difficult to make out the character of it from so brief a description. From the entries in the journals in the following session, however, it is plain that the question was much debated, that the measure of relief went through many forms before it was passed; and as the first form in which it was then brought up in the House of Commons—that laymen having wives may be priests, and have benefices—is open to no misconstruction, I conclude that the original bill was of the same kind.

though whipping, branding, or even hanging were not considered penalties in themselves too heavy for the sturdy and valiant rascal who refused to be reformed; yet through 'foolish pity of them that should have seen the laws executed,' there had been no hanging and very little whipping, and vagrancy was more troublesome than ever. Granting that it was permissible to treat the vagabond as a criminal in an age when transportation did not exist, and when public works on which he could be employed at the cost of Government were undertaken but rarely, the question what to do with him in such a capacity was a hard one. The compulsory idleness of a life in gaol was at once expensive and useless; and practically the choice lay between no punishment at all, the cart's tail, and the gallows. The Protector, although his scheme proved a failure, may be excused, therefore, for having attempted a novel experiment, for having invented an arrangement, the worst feature of which was an offensive name; and which, in fact, resembled the system which, till lately, was in general use in our own penal colonies.

The object was, if possible, to utilize the rascal part of the population, who were held to have forfeited, if not their lives, yet their liberties. A servant determinately idle, leaving his work, or an able-bodied vagrant, roaming the country without means of honest self-support and without seeking employment, was to be brought before the two nearest magistrates. 'On proof of the idle living of the said person,' he was to be branded on the breast, where the mark would be concealed by his

clothes, with the letter V, and adjudged to some honest neighbour, as 'a slave,' 'to have and to hold the said slave for the space of two years then next following;' 'and to order the said slave as follows:' that is to say, 'to take such person adjudged as slave with him, and only giving the said slave bread and water, or small drink, and such refuse of meat as he should think meet, to cause the said slave to work.' If mild measures failed, if the slave was still idle or ran away, he was to be marked on the cheek or forehead with an S, and be adjudged a slave for life. If finally refractory, then and then only he might be tried and sentenced as a felon. Twenty years before, when vagrancy was less excusable, and the honest man could honestly maintain himself in abundance, such a measure might have worked successfully — supposing only that the word slave had been exchanged for some other expression which grated less harshly in English ears. In the condition of things which was now commencing, as will presently be shown, neither this nor any other penal Act against idleness could be practically enforced. Penal laws were rather required at the other extremity of the social scale. The measure failed, and in two years was withdrawn.[1]

Another measure however did not fail, unless indeed

[1] The details of Somerset's bill are curious. The children of beggars were to be taken from them and brought up in some honest calling. If no householder could be found to accept the charge of a slave, he was to be adjudged to his town or parish to work in chains on the highways or bridges. Collections were to be made in the parish churches every Sunday for the relief of the deserving poor. The slaves of private persons were to wear rings of iron on their necks, arms, or legs. As their

to accomplish unmixed evil be to fail. It has been mentioned that the year before the death of Henry, the remaining property of all ecclesiastical and semi-ecclesiastical foundations, the lands, the rentcharges, the miscellaneous donations for the support of universities, colleges, schools, hospitals, alms-houses, or parochial charities, for chantries, trentals, obits, masses, for stipendiary priests in family or other chapels, for religious services of different kinds, for candles, offerings, ornaments of churches, and other useful or superstitious purposes, were placed by Parliament in the hands of the King, to receive such 'alterations' as the change of times required. The task of dealing with complicated property where the use and the abuse were elaborately interwoven, was at once a difficulty and a temptation. What was good ought to be maintained and extended; increased provision should be made for the poor, for the students at the Universities, for all general objects which the interests of the commonwealth required: endowments for purposes wholly effete or mischievous might be confiscated, and the funds applied to redeem the expenses of the late war. The Parliament had hesitated before they placed so large a trust in the hands of Henry VIII., who had specially thanked the two Houses for so signal an evidence of confidence. But the grant was to himself alone. He had power to appoint commissioners to take possession of the property and make the desired changes, but for the term 'of his natural life' only.

crime was the refusal to maintain themselves, so if they could earn or obtain any kind of property, they were entitled to their freedom.

The Protector's Government applied for a renewal of the same trust, and obtained it.

The preamble of the new Act, more explicit than that of the Act under Henry, stated that, in times of superstition, when the perfect method of salvation was not understood, when men held vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory, they had established chantries and such other institutions, thinking to benefit their souls. The funds so misapplied might be converted to good and godly uses; additional alms-houses, grammar-schools, and hospitals might be founded, the number of clergy might be increased in populous parishes, and funds might be provided further for the repair of harbours, piers, embankments, and other public works. The details of the intended alterations, however, could not in the present Parliament be conveniently brought forward, and the council requested that the uncontrolled confidence which had been reposed in Henry should be extended to them.[1]

Cranmer, who foresaw the consequences, opposed the grant to the extent of his power. He was supported by Tunstal and six other bishops, but he failed. The two Universities, Winchester, Eton, and St George's at Windsor were exempted from the operation of the Act. Cathedral chapters, too, were excepted, unless they maintained obits or chantries. But the whole of the rest of the property was made over to the council; and, as one of the immediate effects, the 'priory and convent

[1] 1 Edward VI. cap. 14.

of Norwich,' converted by Henry VIII. in 1538 to a chapter, were required, under pretence of some informality, to make a fresh surrender, and they were reincorporated only with a loss of manors and lands, worth 300 marks a year.[1] The shrines and the altar-plate at York Cathedral were sent to the Mint, to be issued in base coin; and the example being contagious, parish vestries began to appropriate the chalices, jewels, bells, and ornaments in the country churches, and offer them publicly for sale.[2] The carcase was cast out into the fields, and the vultures of all breeds and orders flocked to the banquet.

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[1] Petition of Dean and Chapter of Norwich: *Tanner MSS.* Bodleian Library, 90.

[2] *Tanner MSS.* Ibid.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE PROTECTORATE.

ON the retreat of the English army a convention of the Estates assembled at Stirling; the young Queen was sent, under the care of Lord Erskine, to the impregnable fortress of Dumbarton, and while the Protector was expecting to hear of the arrival of commissioners at Berwick to ask for peace, couriers were hastening to France with an offer of Mary and the Scottish crown to the Dauphin. The Protector, when he learnt what they had done, made a fresh appeal to Scottish good feeling. He insisted that the marriage of Edward and Mary was obviously intended by Providence. England did not wish for conquest—it desired only union. It won battles and offered friendship, love, peace, equality, and amity. The Scots and English were shut up in one small island apart from the world; they were alike in blood, manners, form, and language—it was monstrous that they should continue to regard one another with mortal hatred. It would be better for the Scots to be conquered by England than succoured by France: conquered or unconquered, England only

October.

desired to force upon them a share of her own prosperity; while France would rule over them by a viceroy, and make them slaves. If they would accept instead the hand which was held out to them, 'The Scots and English being made one by amity, having the sea for a wall, mutual love for a garrison, and God for a defence, should make so noble and well-agreeing a monarchy, that neither in peace need they be ashamed, nor in war afraid of any worldly power.'[1]

November.

All this was most true, most just, most reasonable, but it agreed ill with the massacre at Musselburgh. The Protector concluded with a threat that, if the Scots would not accept his terms when offered freely, he would chastise them again by fire and sword. The Scots answered not in words, but in actions, You require us to unite with you; we prefer to remain as we are, and to keep our freedom; if we call evil what you call good, where is your right to compel us to a good which we do not desire? Our Parliament, you tell us, gave their consent to you; well, then, we are a free people, and we have changed our minds; you say you will chastise us—come, then, and do your worst.'

The French Court, on the arrival of the message of the Estates, closed instantly with the offer. Either the Dauphin should have the Queen or some nobleman, either French or in the French service, should have her. The Scots might desire, on reflection, that

[1] Address of the Duke of Somerset to the Scottish Nation: HOLINSHED.

the Queen's husband should be able to reside among them permanently, which a French sovereign could not do. But, at all events, France would make Scotland's quarrel her own quarrel. The terms of the alliance might be considered at leisure. For the moment another candidate was thought of for the disputed hand of Mary Stuart. Ireland began to stir: O'Donnell broke into rebellion in the north, and fifteen hundred Scots landed to support him. News reached the council that on the Thursday before Christmas-day, seven French vessels were at Dumbarton, and that on board one of them was 'young Gerald of Kildare;'[1] and it was said 'that the said Kildare should marry with the Scottish Queen, and arrear all Ireland in their party against England, and further, that before Easter there should be such a battle fought that all England should rue it.'[2]

Under such an aspect of affairs prudence might have again suggested to the Protector that, in the words of Henry VIII., 'he had a Milan in his hand for the French King;' that the present

1548. February.

[1] Son of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald and heir of the earldom.

[2] *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. iii. State Paper Office. This marriage was doubtless talked of at Paris. To unite Scotland and Ireland against England was a constant object of French policy. But Kildare's presence at Dumbarton at Christmas, 1547, was probably a mistake. Among the *Privy Council Records*, under the date of Jan. 28, 1547, I find a note of a letter from a Mr Young, at Florence, who said that he had fallen in with Kildare at that place: that Kildare had told him that he was but a child when he was taken from Ireland; that he regretted his faults, and would make his submission if he could be allowed to return. A resolution of council was passed to admit him to favour, and a letter was written to that effect.

humour of France, if not created by the English occupation of Boulogne, was infinitely enhanced by it; that by a sacrifice on one side he might purchase non-interference on the other. The Prince, whose honour had been touched by the failure of his attempt, when Dauphin, to surprise the English garrison, had been heard to say that he would recover Boulogne or lose his realm for it.[1] The French were already laying batteries across the river opposite to the English mole, from which shots were fired at the workmen; and the ambassador at Paris warned the Protector that 'Catherine de Medici hated England above all other nations,' on account of the disgrace inflicted on French arms by the conquest and occupation of territory.

March.

If war should break out, a garrison equal to an army would be required in the Boullonnaise. The fleet would have to be maintained on a war footing, and the finances were already deeply distressed. But the Protector was enthusiastic, and believed himself irresistible. In the spring ships were in preparation in the French harbours to transport an army into Scotland. He determined to anticipate their coming; and on the 18th of April, Lord Grey the Marshal of Berwick, and Sir Thomas Palmer, again crossed the Border, and advanced to Haddington, which they took and elaborately fortified. After spending six weeks there improving the defences, they left a garrison in charge, of two thousand five hundred men, and after wasting the

April 18.

[1] *Calais MSS.* bundle 10, State Paper Office.

country for six miles round Edinburgh at their leisure, they fell back the first week in June upon Berwick. June.

In the same week Villegaignon, the French admiral, sailed from Brest with sixty transports, twenty-two galleys, and six thousand men. D'Essy, the successful defender of Landrecy in 1544, was in command of the army. He was accompanied by Pietro Strozzi, Catherine de Medici's cousin, by several companies of Italians, the Rhinegrave, de Biron, and other persons of note and name. War was not declared against England; Strozzi said, briefly, that for the time they were to be considered Scots, and they sailed out of harbour with the red lion at the admiral's masthead.[1]

On the 16th of June they landed at Leith. June 16. The troops were allowed a few days' rest at Edinburgh to recruit themselves after their sea-sickness,[2] and the work of driving out the English was commenced in the siege of Haddington.[3]

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[1] Calderwood; Knox.

[2] Buchanan.

[3] Among the convict crews of the galleys employed on this expedition were the prisoners of St Andrews. They had been promised freedom on their surrender; but the gentlemen were confined in French fortresses; the insignificant, and among them (so singularly men judge of one another) John Knox, were sent to serve in the fleet. From Knox's account of their treatment, the discipline could not have been extremely cruel. 'When mass was said on board, or the *Salve Regina* was sung, the Scotsmen put on their bonnets.' An image of the Virgin, 'a glorious painted lady,' was brought on board to be kissed, and was offered 'to one of the Scotsmen there chained,' probably to Knox himself. He gently said, 'Trouble me not; such an idol is accursed; I will not touch it.' The officer violently thrust it in his face, and put it betwixt his hands, who, seeing the extremity, took the idol,

The Regent joined d'Essy with eight thousand Scots; trenches were drawn, and siege guns brought up from the ships; the conditions of the French support were then discussed in detail, and agreed upon. Inside the lines of the camp were the ruins of an abbey which the English had destroyed. On this appropriate spot was held the convention of Haddington. That the Dauphin, and no inferior person, should marry the heiress of Scotland, was the natural desire of her uncles, the powerful and ambitious Guises. Their influence had prevailed. The Crowns of France and Scotland were to be formally and ever united. Scotland was to retain her own laws and liberties. The French would defend her then and ever from her 'auld enemies.'[1] The formal records of the convention declare that the resolution was unanimous; but there were some persons who were able to see that their liberty would be as much in danger from a union with France as from a union with England. The Protector at the last moment had sent an offer with which he had better have commenced. He undertook to abstain from

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and advisedly looking about, he cast it in the river, and said, 'Let our Lady now save herself; she is light enough; let her learn to swim.' After this the Scots were troubled no further in such matters.

Here, again, is another fine scene.

On a grey summer dawn, 'lying between Dundee and St Andrews, John Knox being so extremely sick that few hoped his life, Master James Balfour willed him to look to the land, and asked him if he knew it, who answered, "I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory, and I am fully persuaded, how weak that ever I now appear, I shall not depart this life till my tongue shall glorify his holy name in the same place."'—KNOX'S *History of the Reformation*

[1] Acts of the Scottish Parliament, 1548.

interference till Edward should be of age, if the Scots, on their part, would make no engagements with the French. Their Queen might remain among themselves, and at the end of ten years should be free to make her own choice. Good sense had not been wholly washed away by the bloodshed at Musselburgh, and voices were heard to say that this offer was a reasonable one.[1] But exasperation and the hope of revenge were overwhelmingly predominant. The queen-mother, Mary of Guise, bold, resolute, and skilful, appeared in person in the convention. The Duchy of Chatelherault was bestowed on the Regent Arran, with a pension of twelve thousand francs; and money was freely used in other quarters. The opposition was silenced, and the intended bride of the Dauphin, that there might be no room left for a second repentance, was to be placed at once beyond the reach of the English arms. Villegaignon weighed anchor on the instant, evaded the English cruisers who were watching for him at the mouth of the Forth, and running round the Orkneys, fell back upon the Clyde, took the young Queen on board at Dumbarton, with her brother Lord James Stuart (afterwards known to history as the Regent Murray), and bore her safely to Brest.[2] 'So,' says Knox, 'she was sold to go into France, to the end that in her youth she should drink of that liquor that should remain with her all her lifetime a plague to the realm and for her own final destruction.'[3]

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[1] BUCHANAN. [2] CALDERWOOD; BUCHANAN.
[3] KNOX'S *History of the Reformation.*

July. The siege of Haddington was then pressed in form. The sallies of the garrison were incessant and destructive. The English commander, Sir James Wilford, won the admiration of the French themselves by his gallantry. But the trenches were pushed forward day after day. The batteries were armed with heavy cannon which would throw sixty shot each in twelve hours—in those times an enormous exploit. The walls were breached in many places, and the advanced works of the besiegers were at last so close to the town that the English could reach them with lead balls swung in the hand with cords. In this position the siege was turned into a blockade. The garrison were short of provisions and short of powder, and 'for matches' they were 'tearing their shirts into rags.'[1]

When their extremity was known at Berwick, Lord Grey collected the Border force in haste, and was preparing to go to their assistance, when he was stopped by an order of Council. The Earl of Shrewsbury was to lead an army into Scotland as large as that which had won Pinkie Cleugh, and Grey was directed to confine himself to throwing in supplies. The instructions may have been more defensible than they appear. Sir Warham St Leger and Captain Wyndham set out from Berwick with two hundred foot, and powder and commissariat waggons. Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir Robert Bowes formed their escort with thirteen hundred light cavalry. The adventure was desperate, and was des-

[1] Holinshed.

perately accomplished. Covered by the charge of the horse, St Leger succeeded in bringing his convoy within the walls; but Palmer and Bowes were taken, and the entire detachment was annihilated.'[1] Haddington, however, was saved. Shrewsbury advanced by forced marches with fifteen thousand men, supported as before by the fleet; and d'Essy, doubting whether the Scots could be trusted in a general action, raised the siege, and fell back on Edinburgh. The garrison was relieved and reinforced, and the superiority of the English in the field was again asserted.

After a display of power, however, Shrewsbury could only retire as the Protector had done. Twenty miles of Teviotdale were wasted, but this was not to conquer Scotland; and, unless the country could be occupied, as well as overrun, no progress was really made. Conducted on the present system, the war could produce no fruits except infinite misery, unavailing bloodshed, and feats of useless gallantry. The expulsion or withdrawal of the troops from Haddington and other forts which the English held, could be a question only of time. Accident, however, gave the Protector an unexpected opportunity, had he been able to avail himself of it. September.

[1] So say the Scottish historians, and Holinshed, who took pains to inform himself accurately on such points, confirms them. The Protector, however, on the 6th of August, wrote to his brother, Lord Seymour, referring to this business: 'The last evil chance in Scotland was nothing so evil as was first thought; not above three score slain, and the number which is taken, excepting Mr Bowes and Mr Palmer, containeth no man of name or opinion.' — *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. iv. State Paper Office.

The English cruisers had threatened the French supplies. D'Essy was obliged to forage as he could, and the army lying inactive about Edinburgh, became soon on indifferent terms with the people. One morning, at the beginning of October, a Scot was carrying a gun along a street, when a French soldier met him and claimed it. A scuffle began, parties formed, swords were drawn, and shots fired. The provost and the town-guard coming to the spot, took the side of their countrymen; they arrested the soldiers, and were carrying them to the Tolbooth, when a cry rose for a rescue. Their comrades hurried up; the provost and half a dozen gentlemen were presently killed, and the uproar spreading, an English prisoner in Edinburgh who witnessed the scene, said, 'that the French would no sooner espy a Scot, man, woman, or child, come out of doors, or put their heads out of window, but straightway was marked by an harquebus.'[1] The Regent called on d'Essy for explanations, and d'Essy, unable to explain, answered with high words. At last he withdrew the troops beyond the gates, summoned the Rhinegrave to a council, and determined, in order to obliterate the effects of so awkward a business, to go the same evening with the whole army to Haddington, and carry it by a surprise.

October 8.

The city was no sooner cleared of the soldiers than the gates were shut behind them, 'and the townsmen,

[1] Thomas Fisher to the Duke of Somerset: *Original Letters*, edited by Sir H. ELLIS, 3rd series, vol. iii. p. 292. Compare the account in BUCHANAN.

seeking for such French as were left, were he sick or whole, he was no sooner found but forthwith slain and cut in pieces;' 'whenever one or two French were found apart, they were killed and thrust into holes.'[1] All night the murderous revenge continued; when, shortly before daybreak, a messenger came breathless to the gates, saying that d'Essy had taken Haddington, that a few English only survived, shut up in an isolated bulwark, who had offered to surrender if they might have their lives; but d'Essy had answered they should have no courtesy but death. The news put an end to the massacre; which, if the account was true, might produce unpleasant fruits. The Regent mounted his horse, and rode to the scene of the supposed triumph. At Musselburgh the truth met him in a long file of carts, laden with dead or wounded men.

D'Essy, reaching Haddington at midnight, had surprised the garrison in their beds. The sentinels had but time to give the alarm before they were killed; the watch was driven in, and some of the French entered with them, in the confusion, into the court of the castle. These, seizing the gates and keeping them open, the assailants behind were thronging after them in force, when a cannon, loaded with grapeshot, was fired by an unknown hand into the thick of the crowd, and destroyed a hundred men upon the spot. The check gave the English time to collect. While the attacking party were still reeling under the effect of

[1] Fisher to the Protector: *Original Letters*, 3rd series, vol. iii. p. 292.

the discharge, they poured down upon them through a postern. The gun was again charged and fired; the gates were closed, and all who remained inside were cut down or killed in jumping from the battlements. Furious at his failure, d'Essy again led up his troops to the assault; a kinsman of the Rhinegrave had been left in the castle-court, and a party of Germans fought their way in and carried him off; but the whole garrison were by this time under arms. Three times the French came up to be driven back with desperate loss; and at last, with bitter reluctance, the leader gave the signal to fall back. His enterprise had led to nothing but discomfiture. With the morning he learnt, and was compelled to bear, the murders at Edinburgh, and to see the Scots as much pleased at his defeat as the English themselves. For some days it was expected that the French would be attacked and destroyed in their camp,[1] and they 'were in such desperation that they would rather adventure to be killed by Englishmen than by Scots.'[2]

At such a moment either skilful diplomacy or prompt action might possibly have restored the influence of England; although, the Queen being in France, it was not easy to say for what object the Protector was now contending. The occasion, however, was allowed to

[1] The Scots rejoiceth as much at the overthrow as we do, and it is spoken in Edinburgh that the Hamiltons will, for their bloodshedding, seek no other amends at the hands of the French but to be revenged with the sword.—Fisher to the Protector: ELLIS; *Original Letters*, 3rd series, vol. iii. p. 292.

[2] Ibid

pass; and the breach between the Scots and their allies was soon healed by the recall of d'Essy, the arrival of reinforcements, and a series of small successes, in which both Scots and French bore their share, and which restored confidence and good-humour. The English attempted a landing in Fife, where Lord James Stuart beat them to their ships, with a loss of six hundred men; the French, with the help of their galleys, took the islands in the Forth which Somerset had fortified, and destroyed several hundred more. A series of small fortresses in Teviotdale and the Marches—Roxburgh, Hume Castle, Fast Castle, and Broughty Craig, fell one after the other in the winter; and by the spring of 1549 Haddington remained the sole visible result to the Protector of all his costly efforts, while the object for which the war had been undertaken was utterly lost.

Meanwhile, the quarrel with France had extended. An irregular cannonade was kept up between the French forts and the new English works at Boulogne. The Boullonnaise had been invaded; there had been skirmishes and loss of life. Villegaignon's galleys, after landing Mary Stuart at Brest, had roamed about the Channel, preying upon English merchant-ships;[1] and while peace still continued in name, the French Court professed an insolent confidence that the Protector durst not resent their violation of it. He shrunk, it was true, from declaring war; but England as well as France could play at the game of marauding

August.

[1] The Protector to the Admiral: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. iv. State Paper Office.

hostility. Convoys of provisions were passing continually between Brest and Leith, and a French fishing-fleet from Iceland and Newfoundland was looked for in the fall of the year. The 'Adventurers of the West,' the sea-going inhabitants of the ports of Devonshire and Cornwall, were informed that the Channel was much troubled with pirates, and that they would serve their country by clearing the seas of them. Private hints were added, that they might construe their instructions liberally; but that whatever French prizes were brought in should be kept for a time undisposed of, till it was ascertained whether the Court of Paris 'would redress the harms done on their side.'[1]

The Admiralty order came out on the 11th of August. Sir Richard Greenfield, Sir William Denys, Sir Hugh Trevanion, and Sir William Godolphin were commissioned to superintend the Adventurers' proceedings; and on the 7th September, John Greenfield, Sir Richard's son or brother, reported progress from Foy. He had himself been upon a cruise, and had waylaid, taken, sunk, or driven on shore an indefinite number of French trading-vessels; he had brought ten prizes into Foy and Plymouth; he had obtained information of three hundred sail going to Bordeaux for wine for the army in Scotland; and 'the western men,' he said, 'were so expert' in their business, 'that he did not doubt they would give a good account of the whole of them.' About the same time sixteen transports re-

Sept. 7.

[1] Privy Council to the Admiral: Ibid.

turning from Scotland were attacked by two English ships at the mouth of a French harbour, and four were taken and carried off.[1]

England had thus drifted into the realities of war with France. It would not be through the skill of her ruler if war did not follow with the Empire also, if the Pope did not succeed at last in launching against her the united force of the Catholic powers. Happily, the disintegrating elements were strong enough at that time, as before and after, to prevent a combination which, if accomplished, would have changed the fortunes of the Reformation.

After the fatal battle of Mühlberg, the Landgrave of Hesse had relinquished a contest which for the time was hopeless; and, trusting to the promises of the Emperor and the guarantees of Duke Maurice, that his personal liberty should not be taken from him, presented himself in the Imperial camp. Charles condescending, if the story was true, to an ignoble evasion,[2] commanded his arrest; the two princes who had so long defied him were in his power, and, triumphant at last, he summoned the Diet to meet at Augsburg. Carrying his prisoners with him, he arrived there himself in July, and the long-exiled priests followed in flights in the rear of his armies. The cathedral was forthwith purified of heresy

1547

July.

[1] Lord Russell to the Admiral: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. iv. State Paper Office.

[2] The play upon the words *einig* and *ewig*. The Emperor said he had promised that the Landgrave should not be imprisoned for life—not that he should not be imprisoned at all.

by a second consecration, and bishops preached there day after day on the long-insulted mysteries of the faith.

Sept. 1. The Diet, densely attended, opened on the 1st of September. Charles briefly reminded the assembly of his long efforts to compose the quarrels of Germany peaceably; he had been driven at last, he said, to another remedy, and God had given him success. Religion had been the cause of the turmoil. A council, as they had themselves told him again and again, was the only instrument by which it could be composed. The bishops of the Catholic States, therefore, would petition the Pope to send back the fugitives to Trent; and on the Pope's compliance, the Lutheran princes—Duke Maurice, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Wurtemberg, and the rest, should promise obedience to the decisions of that council, whatever they might be. Meanwhile, he would reorganize the Imperial chamber; he would hear and determine questions of confiscated Church property in person; and while the Diet proceeded, he would permit no parties or separate conferences.

He was master of the situation, and for the time could insist on compliance; Duke Maurice, after an ineffectual attempt to make conditions, agreed to submit; and the petition to the Holy See was drawn, probably by the Emperor himself, and despatched. The bishops were made to say that they had long desired to see a general council meet in Germany; after years of delay a place had at last been selected, which virtually was more Italian than German. While the war con-

tinued they could not safely repair thither, and now, when peace was re-established, the council had been broken up. They entreated that it might assemble again. If his Holiness consented, he would give peace to Europe and to the Church; if he refused, they would not answer for the consequences.[1]

The language was impatient and almost menacing Never since his accession had Paul III. yielded to entreaty, and the council, the action of which at Trent might be uncertain, was in his own dominions safe, convenient, and manageable. It was a view of things which the French, during the summer, had studiously humoured, and a difficulty was evidently looked for. Moreover, Paul was not only the chief prelate of Catholic Christendom, but he had children in a more earthly sense for whom he had the affection of an earthly father. He had dismembered the States of the Church for a favourite child, whom he had invested with the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza. Louis Farnese had distinguished his administration by atrocities unusual even in an Italian despot, and had just been murdered by his subjects. The conspirators had placed themselves under the protection of the Emperor; and Gonzaga, governor of Milan, who was believed to have been in the secret of the assassination, sent troops to Piacenza, and prevented the indignant Pope from revenging his son's death.

Sept. 10.

October.

The wound was but a few weeks old when the peti-

[1] Sleidan.

tion of the German bishops arrived at Rome. On the
Dec. 9. 9th of December it was presented in the Consistory; and Mendoza, Charles's ambassador, declared that he was instructed, if the demand was refused, to record his protest against the sessions at Bologna as illegal. The same day (it cannot be considered an accident) the Archbishop of Rheims arrived from Paris. Henry II., who had long seen in the Italian question the germs of a fresh war, resented the occupation of Piacenza as deeply as the Pope. He, too, dreaded the restoration of the Council of Trent. Charles, master of Germany, with the great council of Christendom sitting within his dominions, and under his virtual sovereignty, would become too strong for him to cope with.[1] The French prelate arrived opportunely to present the homage of France at the Papal throne. His sovereign, the Archbishop said, would have come in person to rest his eyes on the august countenance of the Holy Father, had not his presence been required at home; but he was sent to offer in his master's name the whole power of France against all who secretly or openly conspired against the independence of the Papacy.

Dec. 27. Thus supported, Paul determined to defy the Emperor. He told Mendoza that he would submit the petition to the fathers at Bologna, who would be in no haste to condemn their own actions. Cardinal del Monte, the legate and president, replied

[1] PALLAVICINO.

for them that the removal from Trent had been the act of a majority, and was therefore legal. If they were to return, their Spanish brethren, who had remained behind, must first submissively rejoin them; they must have a promise further that no secular power should interfere with their freedom of debate; that the Lutherans should submit without reserve; and, finally, that they should be at liberty to leave Trent again, should it seem at any time desirable to them.

The unpromising reply was transmitted to Charles, and once more he despatched a protest both to Bologna and to Rome. He had done his best for the Catholic religion, he said, and the prelates of the council had done their worst. The Germans had promised to acknowledge them if they sat anywhere but in Italy. In the Papal dominions their assembly was an illusion and a pretence. For the last time he insisted that they should return to Trent, or on them would rest the guilt of the misfortunes which they were dragging down upon Christendom. The fathers replied, like themselves, that they were met in the name of the Holy Ghost, that the Emperor was the son of the Church, not the master of it, and that secular magistrates must not dictate to the ministers of Christ. The Pope, equally determined, shielded himself behind equivocation, and affected to hold out hopes of arrangement; but his insincerity was transparent;[1] and Charles, exasperated

1548. January.

[1] The wiser Catholics thought that Paul was playing a dangerous game. The Papacy had said one thing and meant another, at an earlier stage of the Reformation, not to their advantage. 'Hujusmodi

and desperate, determined to assume for a time the power which Henry VIII. had claimed for the sovereign authority in every State and country. A free council might ultimately meet. Meanwhile, and until that happy consummation, a scheme of doctrine, known as the Interim, was composed and submitted to representatives of the different parties, and was finally on the 15th of May, laid before the Diet.

May 15.

The Catholic faith was asserted, but in 'ambiguous formularies,' which would leave the conscience free while they seemed to bind it.[1] On points where evasion was impossible, such as the restitution of Church property, the marriage of the clergy, and communion in both kinds at the eucharist, the first of these critical questions was untouched; in the two other points the Protestant innovations were condemned in words and were tolerated in fact.

At Rome the intrusion of the secular power upon sacred ground appeared but as the confirmation of the dread which the extreme Catholics had long affected to feel—that Charles would at last imitate the usurpations of his uncle of England. A copy of the Interim was sent to the Pope for approval. The Pope replied by requiring the instant restitution of the abbey lands, the withholding of the cup from the laity, and

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lae,' says Pallavicino, 'a fallaci spe propinatum quandoque acrius accescit in stomacho magnorum vivorum ubi deludantur, perinde ac fortassis evenerat in divortio Regis Britannici.'—*Historia Concilii Tridentini.*

[1] Formulis ambiguis quas liceret utrique partium pro re suâ interpretari.—PALLAVICINO

the separation of the clergy from their concubines.[1] In Germany the scheme was scarcely received more favourably. Bucer, whose opinion was privately asked, gave his unequivocal disapproval, and accepted an invitation to England, whither Peter Martyr had gone before him. Duke Maurice, with the majority of the Protestant princes, acquiesced for themselves, but with tacit or avowed reluctance. When they called upon their subjects to follow their example, it was with hesitating lips and a dislike or contempt which they hardly cared to conceal.[2]

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[1] Dici vix potest quantum animorum motum excitaverit libelli Interim promulgatio. Etenim priori aspectu creditum plerumque est arrogatam sibi fuisse a Cæsare auctoritatem in rebus fidei.—PALLAVICINO.

[2] The Bishop of Westminster and Sir Philip Hoby, who were at Augsburg during the Diet, reported the general feeling with much distinctness. In a letter dated the 22nd of May the Bishop wrote:—

'As the Emperor is earnestly bent to have the Interim kept, so I hear divers places and cities be not content therewith. Duke Maurice says that, for his own person, he is content to keep it; but because he has so often promised his subjects to suffer them to observe their religion that they now be in, he cannot compel them to the observance of the Interim, so he remaineth perplexed.' Albert of Brandenburg, he added, had refused.—*MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

On the 9th of July Sir Philip Hoby wrote:—

'The Duke of Wurtemberg, having received the Interim, with commandment to see it take place and be observed throughout his country, it is reported that he did not make any countenance to disobey the Emperor's will herein, but received his commission very reverendly. Shortly, after suffering the Interim to go about, and the Emperor's Commissioners appointed for that purpose to set it forth as it liked them, suddenly, without any mention made of the Interim, or, as though he thought nothing thereof, as I hear say he is a man somewhat merry conceited when he list, he caused proclamation to be made in his country, that each person for every time they heard mass should pay unto him eight ducats of gold. He forbade not the mass to be said

The imprisoned Duke of Saxony possessed the influence which would enable Charles to carry his point, and freedom, favour, and power were held out to him through Granvelle, as the reward of compliance. John Frederick answered, with a noble simplicity, that 'he was in the Emperor's power; his Majesty might do with him, and use his carcase as it liked him, he neither could nor would resist his pleasure therein; but he humbly besought his Majesty that he would not press him to grant this thing, which, he said, being against the word and law of God, he would not agree unto though he were to die for it.' [1]

The Free Towns were less obedient than the princes. Magdeburg sent an open refusal; Constance refused almost as peremptorily; Strasburg sent a protest: and when Granvelle threatened, the Strasburg deputies said that a man's body might be burnt, but a burnt body was better than a damned soul.

July.

In a worldly sense the Protestants would have been more prudent had they taken the Emperor at his word. The Interim was in theory as liberal as the scheme of belief as yet established in England. In practice it was even more liberal, for the marriage of the clergy, though censured, was not forbidden. In formulas of doctrine, as in all mechanical contrivances, looseness of construction becomes looser in the use; and a considerable liberty of opinion might have established itself under the shelter of the Interim. But the Germans, more

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but would have the hearers pay him this tribute.'—Hoby to the Protector: *Cotton. MSS. Titus*, B. 2.

[1] Ibid.

spiritual than the English, were less tolerant of compromise. They had parted with the substance of Romanism, they would not be haunted with the shadow of it. In the midst of the agitation the Diet was dissolved. The army at least would be obedient; and if the people would not accept what was offered them in a lax spirit, they should be compelled to accept it in a harsh one.

Wherever Charles's hand could reach, diocesan synods were re-established. The ecclesiastical courts were revived, and the schools were placed exclusively under the priests. The Lutheran clergy were advised to send their wives from them, or they might suffer for it; and the supreme courts of the Empire were reorganized as the Catholics desired. John Frederick was punished for his refusal with petty persecution;[1] and as a reply to the insolence of Constance, August 5.

[1] 'The Emperor was much moved with his answer. Three hundred Spaniards more than the accustomed band were commanded towards the Duke's lodging. They went to the Duke, and showed him the Emperor's pleasure was, seeing he so obstinately refused to grant his requests, that the order which was first prescribed at his taking should now be straitly observed, and no more gentleness and courtesy shewed unto him, seeing it could so little prevail. And forthwith they caused all the daggs and other weapons that the Duke's servants had then in the house to be sought out and sent away; and whereas the Duke had then about him above seventy servants, they sent them all away saving twenty-seven. Granvelle also sent from him his preacher, whom he threatened with fire if he hasted not forth of the country. His cooks and other officers were also commanded, upon pain of burning, they should not prepare or dress for him any meat upon Fridays, Saturdays, or other fasting days commanded by the Roman Church. In this straitness remaineth the Duke now, wherewith he seemeth to be so little moved as there can be none alteration perceived in him, either by word or

three thousand Spanish troops sprang suddenly upon the town. They were driven back after a desperate conflict. But Constance was placed under the ban of the Empire, and compelled at last to yield, and Charles prepared to force his pleasure on Strasburg and Magdeburg. He believed himself irresistible, and those who wished best to the opposition had faint hopes that it would succeed. But for the present, at all events, his hands were full. With Germany to bend or to break, with Italy unsettled, the Pope impracticable, and France again threatening a European war, he had no leisure to interfere with England. On this side at least, the Protector had nothing to fear; and the quarrel with France and the war with Scotland being not enough to occupy him, he could proceed with the Reformation of religion.

An Act of Parliament had forbidden irreverent speaking of the sacrament. The sacrament, however, was the real point on which the minds of men were working most passionately; and as the Government had resolved upon permitting or introducing an innovation upon the Catholic doctrine, it was desirable to familiarize the country with the prospect of change. A general order had prohibited all preaching except under a license from the Government; and a set of noisy declaimers, avant couriers, as they called themselves, of the Crown, first to cry for reform while reform was in the ascendant, first to fly or apostatize in time of danger, made the cir-

countenance; but is even now as merry and content to the outer show as he was at any time of his most prosperity.'—Hoby to the Protector; *Cotton. MSS. Titus*, B. 2.

cuit of the towns and parishes, exempted from the operation of the statute. The sacrament of the altar was called the sacrament of the halter. Hocus pocus, the modern conjuror's catchword, was the jesting corruption of the '*hoc est corpus*' in the canon of the mass. With pleasantry of this kind, acting as an additional stimulant on the visitation, the preachers provoked a rising in Cornwall in the summer of 1548, and a royal commissioner, named William Body, was murdered in a church. But a priest, who had been concerned in it, was hanged and quartered in Smithfield;[1] twenty-eight other persons were put to death in different parts of the country;[2] and the riot was appeased. The malcontents were chiefly among the people. Spoliation and reformation were going hand in hand; the nobles and gentlemen were well contented for the time to overthrow, bind, and strip the haughty Church which had trampled on them for centuries; and they let pass, not without remonstrance, but without determined opposition, the outrages upon the creed which in the recoil of feeling would provoke so fearful a retribution.[3] Among the leading Protestant the-

July 7.

[1] STOW.

[2] STOW says, 'other of the priests' society.' I conclude twenty-nine to have suffered in all, as I find a note among the *Cotton. MSS.* of a pardon sent by the council into Cornwall for all persons concerned in the death of Body excepting that number.—*Cotton MSS. Titus*, B. 2.

[3] Sir Philip Hoby put into the mouth of the German Protestants the opinions of himself and of his order. 'Of our proceedings in England,' he says, 'are sundry discourses made here. The Protestants have good hope, and pray earnestly that the King's Majesty, being warned by the late ruin of Germany, [which] happened by the bishops' continuance in their princely and lordly

ologians Lutheranism was melting gradually away. Cranmer, of whose backwardness the letters of the ultra party,[1] during the first year of Edward's reign, contain abundant complaints, was yielding to the arguments of Ridley Latimer, who cared comparatively little for doctrinal questions, whose conception of the Reformation was not so much an improvement of speculative theory, as a practical return to obedience and the fear of God, was more difficult to move than Cranmer; but he, too, was giving way. An attempt was to be made in the next Parliament for an effective and authoritative change.

Somerset himself meanwhile found an adviser in Calvin. The great Genevan, knowing much of religion and little of the English disposition, laid his views before the Protector in a noticeable letter, written in 1548.

'As I understand, my Lord,' wrote Calvin, 'you have two kinds of mutineers against the King and the estates of the realm; the one are fantastical people, who under colour of the gospel would set all to confusion; the others are stubborn people in the superstition of the Antichrist of Rome. These all together do deserve to be well punished by the sword, seeing they do conspire against the King and against God, who had set him in the royal seat.'

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estates, will take order for the redress thereof in his dominions, and appoint unto the good bishops an honest and competent living sufficient for their maintenance, taking from them the rest of their worldly possessions and dignities, thereby to avoid the vain glory that letteth them sincerely to do their office.'—*MS. Harleian*, 523.

[1] *Epistolæ Tigurinæ*, Anno 1547.

For the general organization of the Church, Calvin recommended that a body of doctrines should be drawn up, which all prelates and curates should be sworn to follow—a catechism or common form of instruction to be taught to children; and to prevent eccentricities, 'a certain form written' to which the clergy should be 'restrained' in public prayer and in the administration of the sacraments.

But these things would be ineffective without measures for 'the reformation of the bastard Christendom of the Pope.' And here the especial rock to be avoided was moderation. Of all things, entreated Calvin, let there be no moderation—it is the bane of genuine improvement. 'We see,' he continued (and here spoke the teacher of John Knox), 'we see how the seed of lies is fertile, and there needeth but one grain to fill the world.' 'It will be said that we must tolerate our neighbour's weakness, that great changes are not easily to be borne. That were to be suffered in worldly affairs where it is lawful for the one to give place to the other, and to give over his right, thereby to redeem peace; but it is not like in the spiritual rule of Christ—there we have nothing to do but to obey God. We must hold by the maxim that the Reformation of his Church is a work of his hands; wherefore in this matter men must let themselves be governed by Him. In reforming his Church or in keeping it, He will proceed in a wonderful fashion unknown to men; wherefore to restrain to the measure of our understandings the Reformation which

ought to be godly, and to subdue to the earth and the world that that is heavenly, is to no purpose.'

Lastly, the discipline of the law must be extended from crimes against society to sin against God. 'Thefts, fightings, extortions, are sharply punished,' he said, 'because that men thereby are offended, and the mean time whoredoms, adulteries, and drunkenness are suffered as things lawful or of very little importance. That the honour of God be mindful unto you, punish the crime whereof men are not wont to make any great matter.'[1]

The concluding exhortation was not likely to receive much attention from an English statesman, least of all from one who had little austerity about him, as the Duke of Somerset; but the rest of the letter indicated the course into which he had been already persuaded. It was essential to his success that, either by argument or intimidation, he should bring over to his side a majority of the bishops, and Gardiner was the first to be taken in hand. By a general pardon extended to all crimes except treason and felony, with which the last session of Parliament had concluded, the Bishop of Winchester had been released from the Fleet, and had returned to his diocese. Here he had been chiefly occupied in opposing the itinerant preachers; 'he did occupy the pulpit himself, not fearing to warn the people to beware of those godly persons whom the King did

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[1] Calvin to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. v. 1548. The translation is, I think, in the handwriting of Cranmer.

send.'[1] Their fanatical appeals were endangering the public peace, and in self-protection he had been obliged to arm his household.[2] The Government themselves were compelled, in the course of the summer, to silence 'the godly persons' as a nuisance too intolerable to be borne.[3] But the Bishop's interference made an opportunity for again calling him to question. He was sent for to London in May, where being too unwell to ride, he was carried in a horse-litter. The Protector told him that his attitude was unsatisfactory; and when he protested that he had done nothing but what as a loyal subject he was entitled to do, he was required to state his opinions publicly in a sermon before the Court, on the royal supremacy, on the suppression of the religious houses, the removal of chantries, candles, ashes, palms, holy bread, and beads, on auricular confession, processions, the use of common

May.

[1] *Privy Council Records*, Edward VI. *MS.*

[2] The *Privy Council Record* says: 'He had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed.' The Protector, in a circular to the foreign ambassadors, inflames the charge against him into treason. 'To *withstand such as he thought to have been sent from us*, he had caused his servants to be armed and harnessed.' But it is incredible that he contemplated an armed resistance to the Government. He denied it himself emphatically.

[3] 'His Highness is advertised that certain of the said preachers so licensed, not regarding such good admonitions as hath been given unto them, hath abused the said authority of preaching, and behaved themselves irreverendly and without good order in the said preachings, whereby much contention and disorder might arise and ensue in his Majesty's realm.' 'All manner of persons,' therefore, whoever they might be, were forbidden 'to preach in open audience in the pulpit or otherwise,' till further orders.—Proclamation for the Inhibition of Preachers, September 23, 1548. FULLER'S *Church History*.

prayer in English, and the validity of changes made in the King's minority. He promised obedience in general terms. A few days after, William Cecil, the Protector's secretary,[1] waited on him with more specific instruc-

[1] This being the first occasion on which I have had to mention Cecil, some account may be useful as to who and what he was. David Cecil, his grandfather, alderman of Stamford, had a son Richard, who went to London, and found service at the Court, becoming yeoman of the wardrobe to Henry VIII. Being a good servant, he grew in favour; he was made at last constable of Warwick Castle, and on the dissolution of the monasteries received a grant from the King of Stamford Priory and other property in Northamptonshire. The wife of this Richard was daughter and heiress of William Heckington, of Bourne, by whom he had three daughters—Margaret, married to Robert Carr, of Stamford; Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas Wingfield, of Upton; Anne, married to Thomas White, of Nottingham; and one son, William, the statesman known to history, born on the 13th of September, 1520. William Cecil was at school first at Grantham, afterwards at Stamford; from whence, at the age of fifteen, he went to St John's at Cambridge, where his academic course — Greek lectures, sophistry lectures, &c.—was successfully accomplished, and where he made the acquaintance of Sir John Cheke, whose sister Mary he married. At Cambridge he was present at the terrible and never-to-be-forgotten battle between Cheke and Gardiner on the pronunciation of the Greek epsilon, which convulsed the academic world; and thence, in 1541, he removed to Gray's Inn, and became a law student. Mary Cheke dying, he married a second time, in 1545, Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gyddes Hall, eldest of five sisters; Anne, the second of whom, became the wife of Nicholas Bacon, and mother of Francis; Katherine, the third, married Sir Henry Killegrew. Elizabeth married, first, Sir Thomas Hoby, and afterwards Lord Russell. The youngest, less distinguished in her posterity, married a Sir Ralph Rowlet.

William Cecil, introduced at Court by his father, was patronized by Henry, who gave him the reversion of a place in the Common Pleas; and at Henry's death, at the age of twenty-seven, he became secretary of the Duke of Somerset, whom he attended to Musselburgh, where the name of Cecil was nearly brought to an abrupt conclusion by a Scotch cannon-ball. In this capacity of private secretary to the Protector we see him now, being twenty-eight years old.

tions, and with a schedule of detailed opinions, which he was required to maintain.

To this Gardiner answered promptly, that he would not 'maintain another man's device.' June. 'It was a marvellous unreasonable matter, touching his honour and conscience.' The Duke then sent for him, and produced a lawyer's opinion, showing 'what a king might lawfully command a bishop to do,' and he was himself, he said, in the place of a king. Gardiner answered that he knew the law of England: 'no law could enjoin him to say as his opinion what was not his opinion;' and, although the Duke told him 'he should do that or worse,' he refused distinctly to bind himself to the schedule, and retired, saying merely that he trusted his sermon would be satisfactory. It was to be delivered on the 29th of June, the feast of St Peter and St Paul. On the 27th Cecil came to him again, with the Duke's 'advice,' that he should not speak of the sacrament. He asked for something more definite. Cecil said he was not to speak of transubstantiation. 'You do not know what transubstantiation is,' he answered; 'the mass, as I understand it, is the foundation of religion. The ancient faith in this matter is still the law of the land, and I shall speak what I think, if I am to be hanged when I leave the pulpit. I wish the Protector would leave religion to the clergy, and cease to meddle with it.'

The reply to this was a letter the next day June 28. from Somerset, interdicting Gardiner positively from touching the subject. It was his duty, the

Protector considered, 'to bring the people from ignorance to knowledge; and where there was a consent among the bishops and learned men in a truth,' he declared that 'he would not suffer the Bishop of Winchester, or a few others, to dissuade the rest.'[1]

So the question stood between them when the sermon was delivered. It is extant; and unless by tone and gesture the preacher contrived to throw a meaning into

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[1] The authorities for the treatment of Gardiner are a long series of letters and papers, printed in the latest edition of FOXE'S *Martyrs*, vol. vi. The Protector's concluding letter of the 28th of June is printed also in BURNET'S *Collectanea*. I must allow myself to add one more extract from Gardiner's general letters of protest. The real feeling among the laity, he saw plainly, was not against the doctrines of the Church, but against the prelates and against ecclesiastical domination. Changes in doctrine, though nominally by the King's authority, would assuredly, when the King came of age, be called in question again, and if the bishops were weak enough to encourage such changes, it would only be made fresh matter of accusation against them.

'When our Sovereign Lord cometh to his perfect age,' said Gardiner, 'God will reveal what shall be necessary for the governing of his people in religion; and if anything be done in the mean time, having so just a cause, he might use a marvellous speech.

'The bishops, it may then be said, when they had our Sovereign Lord in minority, fashioned the matter as they listed; and then some young man that would have a piece of the bishops' lands shall say—The beastly bishops have always done so, and when they can no longer maintain their pleasures of rule and superiority, then they take another way and let that go, and for the time they be here, spend that they have, eat you and drink you what they list, with *edamus et bibamus cras moriemur*. If we allege for our defence 'the strength of God's truth' and 'the plainness of Scripture' with 'the word of the Lord,' and many gay terms, the King's Majesty will not be abused with such a vain answer, and this is a politic consideration. The doings in this realm hitherto have never done the Bishop of Rome so much displeasure as the alteration in religion during the King's Majesty's minority shall serve for his purpose.'—Gardiner to the Protector: FOXE, vol. vi.

it beyond the seeming intention of the words, it is hard to imagine a composition less calculated to give offence. It was such a sermon as a moderate High Church English divine might preach at the present day, with applause even from evangelicals. The suppression of the chanting, communion in both kinds, the abolition of images, the royal supremacy, were severally touched and approved. The sacrament was spoken of, but only as the late Act of Parliament spoke of it, as a mystery, not to be spoken of with open irreverence. As a matter of opinion, the preacher said, that he 'misliked that priests who had vowed chastity should marry and openly avow it,' but in this he said nothing more than a subsequent Act of Parliament said, by which the marriages of priests were legalized.

It required some ingenuity to construe such a sermon into sedition; but Gardiner was inconveniently able; it was desirable to get rid of him; and having been himself a persecutor, he was held fair game. The day following, Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Anthony Wingfield waited upon him by Somerset's order at his house in Southwark. 'My Lord,' said Sadler, 'ye preached yesterday obedience, but ye did not obey yourself; Wingfield touched him on the shoulder, and told him that he must come to the Tower; and thither he was at once taken, to remain a prisoner till Edward was in his grave.[1]

[1] It was not exclusively Somerset's work. He had made himself Protector, and as first person in the State, he played the first part in the transaction; but others were pressing him on, among whom it is not

Thus delivered from Gardiner, the Reformers could proceed with the preparation of their measures for the meeting of Parliament. The Protector meanwhile, as the counterpart of his zeal for the truth, took occasion in another direction to insult what he considered superstition. His Scotch victory had been rewarded with fresh grants of lands. The extent of Church property, estates, prebends, promotions, which he had annexed, in one form or other, cannot safely be conjectured;[1] but his fortune being princely, he began to build a palace for himself where the modern Somerset House now stands, and retains his name. He pulled down a parish church to make room for it; and to provide materials he blew up with gunpowder a new and exceedingly beautiful chapel, lately built by the last Prior of the Knights of St John. Part of St Paul's churchyard was desecrated at the same time. 'The charnel-

July.

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easy to distribute the responsibility.

On the 14th of June Lord Warwick (Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland), in a letter to Cecil, says—

'Being desirous to hear whether my Lord hath proceeded with the arrogant Bishop according to his deservings or not, is the chief occasion of my writing to you at this time. I did hear that his day to be before my Lord's Grace and the Council was appointed at Easter-day; but if it had been so, I suppose it would have been more spoken of; but I rather fear that his accustomed wiliness, with the persuasions of some of his dear friends and assured brethren, shall be the cause that the fox shall yet again deceive the lion.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office, vol. iv.

[1] I have seen it stated in some loose schedule among the *State Papers*, to which I have no reference, at ten thousand pounds a year; but no official account, so far as I can make out, was ever completed. Part the Duke was obliged to surrender in the following year. But his remaining fortune enabled him to keep a retinue of two hundred servants.

house and the chapel' were turned into dwelling-houses and shops, and the tombs and monuments were pulled down, and the bones buried in the fields.[1]

The work, however, which Parliament would have to undertake, on its assembling, would not be exclusively religious. It has been mentioned that parallel to the religious Reformation, social changes of vast importance were silently keeping pace with it. In the break-up of feudal ideas, the relations of landowners to their property and their tenants were passing through a revolution; and between the gentlemen and the small farmers and yeomen and labourers were large differences of opinion as to their respective rights. The high price of wool, and the comparative cheapness of sheep farming, continued to tempt the landlords to throw their plough lands into grass, to amalgamate farms, and turn the people who were thrown out of employment adrift to shift for themselves. The commons at the same time were being largely enclosed, forests turned into parks, and public pastures hedged round and appropriated. Under the late reign these tendencies had with great difficulty been held partially in check; but on the death of Henry they acquired new force and activity. The enclosing, especially, was carried forward with a disregard of all rights and interests, except those of the proprietors.

Periods of revolution bring out and develope extraordinary characters; they produce saints and heroes,

[1] Stow's *Annals;* Stow's *Survey of London; Chronicle of the Grey Friars.*

and they produce also fanatics, and fools, and villains; but they are unfavourable to the action of average conscientious men, and to the application of the plain principles of right and wrong to every-day life. Common men at such times see all things changing round them —institutions falling to ruin, religious truth no longer an awful and undisputed reality, but an opinion shifting from hour to hour; and they are apt to think that, after all, interest is the best object for which to live, and that in the general scramble those are the wisest who best take care of themselves. Thus, from arbitrary selfishness on one side, and discontent rapidly growing on the other, the condition of the country districts in England was becoming critical. The yeomen, driven from their holdings, were unable to find employment elsewhere. The loss of the common lands took from many of the poor their best means of subsistence; while corn was rising to famine prices from the diminished breadth of land under the plough, and with corn, all other articles of daily consumption. Unhappily, two causes were operating to produce the rise of prices, and the people and many educated persons believed that the landlords were responsible, not only for half the blame, but for the whole of it.

Instead of restoring the silver currency, the Protector, as has been seen, had yielded to the temptation to raise supplies from the same source for the Scottish wars; and from the mints at York, Southwark, Canterbury, and the Tower, fresh and fresh streams of base money had been poured into circulation. The sums for

which the Government were responsible formed but a fraction of the mischief. Sir William Sharington first of all, controller of the mint at Bristol, who had been directed, when the other mints were busy, to keep his own inactive, made an opportunity of the prohibition. The inhabitants of the Somersetshire villages made away surreptitiously with their church plate. Sharington became the general purchaser, and threw it upon the country in testons, or bad shillings, in which four ounces of pure metal were mixed with eight of alloy. The profit he kept to himself, and his accounts he falsified. How much bad money he had coined he could not tell, but he admitted to have gained at least four thousand pounds.[1] The possession of a mint made Sharington the first in the field, but naturally in a little while the entire currency was infected. The pure coin was bought up, and coining establishments were set at work in France and Flanders and in remote corners of Europe. Bad and good money could not co-exist together, and the good disappeared. The Protector was conscious at last of the nature of what was going forward. In the spring of 1548, a proclamation was issued that the teston should be current only till the following December, and that up to that time it would be received at the mints and paid for at its nominal value. But this only increased the speed of the coiners, and the magnitude of the evil was already too much for a treasury exhausted by war. Meantime the money

[1] Sharington's Examinations and Confessions: printed in the first volume of the *Burleigh Papers*.

theorists, three centuries before their time, distracted him with their tempting speculations. 'Why should money cause the dearth?' men said. 'Why should it not be taken as it is proclaimed?' 'What if it were copper? what if it were lead? what if it were leather? Is it not all one, seeing it is for none other use but exchange?'[1] 'If money was plenty, all things would be plenty; the greater abundance of money, the greater the abundance of everything. Three parts of the realm out of four were the better for the multiplication.'[2]

Among the causes of the general distress, the facility with which Somerset allowed himself to be persuaded against his better judgment by arguments such as these, must hold a considerable place; yet, after all deduc-

[1] Sir James Crofts to the Privy Council: *Irish MSS.* Edward VI. vol. iii. State Paper Office. Crofts felt the fallacy, and laboured with such light as he possessed to see through it. 'Experience,' he said, 'teacheth the contrary. Though it be alleged that moneys be but as we esteem them, it followeth not therefore that we should esteem anything otherwise than reason would we did esteem it; for if we would use lead to make armour or edge tools, our labour was in vain. If we should use iron to make our money, it would not serve for that purpose, but would rust, canker, break, and be filthy, where silver and gold metals, more precious and of more sovereign virtues, are clean in handling, fair in sight, not noisome in savour, most durable against fire, water, air, and earth, and therefore most meetest to make treasure thereof.'

[2] See a remarkable series of papers by William Thomas, clerk of the council to Edward VI. *Cotton MSS. Vespasian*, D. 18, some of which have been printed in the fourth volume of STRYPE'S *Memorials*. Thomas, who had defended the first depreciation of Henry VIII. as long as the coin was not alloyed below the Continental level, was now urgent for a reformation. He disdained the 'frivole reasons' of the theorists, and declared that, in spite of the present apparent gain, the revenue and the rents of the Crown estate must be received in the recognized currency, and the Crown itself would be among the heaviest sufferers, 'unless his Majesty purchase land withal.'

tions, it remains certain that the absorption of the small farms, the enclosure system, and the increase of grazing farms had assumed proportions mischievous and dangerous. Leases as they fell in could not obtain renewal; the copyholder whose farm had been held by his forefathers so long that custom seemed to have made it his own, found his fines or his rent quadrupled, or himself without alternative expelled. The Act against the pulling down farm-houses had been evaded by the repair of a room which might be occupied by a shepherd; a single furrow would be driven across a meadow of a hundred acres, to prove that it was still under the plough. The great cattle owners, to escape the sheep statutes, held their stock in the names of their sons or servants; the highways and the villages were covered in consequence with forlorn and outcast families, now reduced to beggary, who had been the occupiers of comfortable holdings; and thousands of dispossessed tenants made their way to London, clamouring in the midst of their starving children at the doors of the courts of law for redress which they could not obtain.[1]

[1] For authorities, see BECON'S *Jewel of Joy;* Discourse of Bernard Gilpin, printed in STRYPE'S *Memorials;* Instructions to the Commissioners of Enclosures, Ibid.; Address of Mr Hales, Ibid.; and a Draft of an Act of Parliament presented to the House of Commons in 1548, *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office. The suffering of the innocent was a shield for the vagabond. Lever, the preacher, exclaims, 'Oh, merciful Lord, what a number of poor, feeble, blind, halt, lame, sickly,—yea, with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixed with them—lie and creep begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster. It is the common custom with covetous landlords to let their housing so decay, that the farmers shall be fain for

Between the popular preachers and the upper classes, who were indulging in these oppressions, there may have been for the most part a tolerable understanding. The Catholic priests in the better days which were past, as the Protestant clergy in the better days which were coming, had said alike to rich and poor, By your actions you shall be judged. Keep the commandments, do justice and love mercy, or God will damn you. The unfortunate persons, who for the sins of England were its present teachers, said, You cannot keep the commandments—that has been done for you; believe a certain speculative theory, and avoid the errors of Popery. It was a view of things convenient to men who were indulging in avarice and tyranny. The world at all times has liked nothing better than a religion which provides it with a substitute for obedience. But, as there would have been no Reformation at all, had Reformation meant no more than a change from a superstition of ceremonies to a superstition of words and opinions, so those who were sincere and upright among the Reformers—men like Cranmer, Latimer, Becon, Bradford, or Lever, to whom God and duty were of more importance than 'schemes of salvation,'[1] whose

small regard or coin to give up their leases, that they, taking the ground into their own hands, may turn all into pasture. So now old fathers, poor widows, and young children lie begging in the streets.'—Sermon of Lever, printed in STRYPE'S *Memorials*.

[1] For which they were despised or lamented over by the advanced Liberals. 'Cantuarensis,' writes Traheron to Bullinger, 'nescio quomodo ita se gerit ut vulgus nostrum non multum illi tribuat. Latimerus, tametsi non liquide perspiciat, æquior est Luthero vel etiam Bucero; altius enim quam cæteri introspicit, ut est ingenio plane

opinions, indeed, followed with the stream, but who looked to life and practice for the fruit of opinions;—such men, I say, saw with sorrow and perplexity that increase of light had not brought with it increase of probity, that, as truth spread, charity and justice languished. 'In times past,' said Latimer, speaking from his own recollection, 'men were full of pity and compassion; but now there is no pity; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold, he shall lie sick at the door between stock and stock—I cannot tell what to call it—and then perish for hunger. In times past, when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help the scholars at the Universities with exhibitions. When any man died, they would bequeath great sums of money towards the relief of the poor. When I was a scholar at Cambridge myself, I knew many that had relief of the rich men in London; but now I can hear no such good report, and yet I inquire of it and hearken for it. Charity is waxen cold; none helpeth the scholar nor yet the poor; now that the knowledge of God's Word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them.'[1] While the country was in the darkness of superstition, landowners and merchants were generous, the people prosperous, the necessaries of life abundant and cheap. The light of the gospel had come in, and with it selfishness, oppression, and misery.

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divino: sed est cunctabundus et ægre renunciat opinioni semel imbibitæ.'—*Epistolæ Tigurinæ*, p. 211.

[1] Sermon of the Plough, pp. 64, 65: LATIMER'S *Sermons*.

That was the appearance which England presented to the eyes of Latimer, and it was not for him to sit still and bear it.

For eight years silent, he was now again about to enter on the fiery course which earned him the name of the Apostle of Britain. He would meddle no more with bishopries; his mission was to speak and to teach: and in the spring of 1548 he commenced a course of sermons, on the crying evils of the age, at Paul's Cross.

March.

'God,' he said, 'in this world had two swords—the temporal sword was in the hands of kings, the spiritual sword in the hands of ministers and preachers, who spoke as sitting in Moses' chair;' therefore, if kings, statesmen, councillors, magistrates, or any others did amiss, it was the preacher's business to correct them. Sketching first the duty of a king, how, sitting in that high place, he was bound to be an example of piety, chastity, justice, and self-restraint, the preacher then went on to 'the monstrous and portentous dearth made by man.'

'You landlords,' he said, 'you rent-raisers, I may say you step-lords, you have for your possessions too much. That that heretofore went for 20 or 40 pounds by the year, which is an honest portion to be had gratis in one lordship of another man's sweat and labour, now is let for 50 or 100 pounds by the year; and thus is caused such dearth that poor men which live of their labour cannot with the sweat of their faces have a living. I tell you, my lords and masters, this is not for the

King's honour. It is to the King's honour that his subjects be led in true religion. It is to the King's honour that the commonwealth be advanced, that the dearth be provided for, and the commodities of this realm so employed, as it may be to the setting of his subjects at work and keeping them from idleness. If the King's honour, as some men say, standeth in the multitude of people, then these graziers, enclosers, rent-raisers, are hinderers of the King's honour; for whereas have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog. My lords and masters, such proceedings do intend plainly to make of the yeomanry slavery.[1] The enhancing and rearing

[1] According to Scory, Bishop of Rochester, the extent of land thrown out of cultivation was two acres in three. 'To trust,' he says, 'to have as much upon one acre as was wont to grow upon three—for I think that the tillage is not now above that rate, if it be so much—is but a vain expectation. A great number of the people are so pined and famished by reason of the great scarcity and dearth that the great sheep masters have brought into this noble realm, that they are become more like the slavery and peasantry of France than the ancient and godly yeomanry of England.'—Scory to the King: STRYPE, vol. iv. p. 483.

The difficulty was not merely that the prices of food rose, and that wages remained stationary, for wages as little obeyed Acts of Parliament as food obeyed it. 'Merchants have enhanced their ware,' says King Edward, in a remarkable State Paper as written by so young a boy; 'farmers have enhanced their corn and cattle, labourers their wages, artificers the price of their workmanship,' &c.' The genuine English nobleman and gentleman, he said, were the only persons in the commonwealth who 'had not exercised the gain of living,' but were contented with their old rents. The mischief had been done by 'the farming gentlemen and clerking knights,' the middle classes, the capitalists who had bought land and were making a trade of it.—King Edward's Remains: *Discourse on the Reformation of Abuses.*

goes all to your private commodity and wealth. Ye had a single too much, and now ye have double too much; but let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stump, nothing is amended. This one thing I will tell you; from whom it cometh I know, even from the devil. I know his intent in it. If he bring it to pass that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school—as, indeed, the Universities do wondrously decay already—and that they be not able to marry their daughters, to the avoiding of whoredom, I say ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm; for by the yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is and hath been maintained chiefly.'[1]

Bernard Gilpin,[2] of whom Fuller says, half plaintively, that 'he hated vice more than error,'[3] followed before the Court in the same strain.

'Look,' Gilpin said, 'how Lady Avarice has set on work altogether. Mighty men, gentlemen, and all rich men do rob and spoil the poor, to turn them from their livings and from their rights; and ever the weakest go to the wall; and being thus tormented and put from their rights at home, they come to London as to a place where justice should be had, and this they can have no more. They are suitors to great men, and cannot come to their speech. Their servants must have bribes, and they no small ones; all love bribes. But such as be dainty to hear the poor, let them take heed lest God

[1] Sermon of the Plough: LATIMER'S *Sermons*.

[2] A nephew of Tunstall, Bishop of Durham.

[3] FULLER'S *Worthies*, vol. iii. p 307.

make it strange to them when they shall pray. Whoso stoppeth his ear at the crying of the poor, he shall cry and not be heard. With what glad hearts and clear consciences might noblemen go to rest, when they had bestowed the day in hearing Christ complain in his members, and in redressing their wrongs. But, alas, what lack thereof! Poor people are driven to seek their rights among the lawyers, and, as the Prophet Joel saith, what the caterpillars left, the greedy locusts the lawyers devour; they laugh with the money which maketh others to weep. The poor are robbed on every side, and that of such as have authority; the robberies, extortions, and open oppressions of these covetous cormorants the gentlemen, have no end nor limits, no banks to keep in their vileness. For turning poor men out of their holds they take it for no offence, but say the land is their own, and they turn them out of their shrouds like mice. Thousands in England, through such, beg now from door to door, who have kept honest houses. Lord, what oppressors, worse than Ahab, are in England, which sell the poor for a pair of shoes! If God should serve but three or four as He did Ahab, to make the dogs lap the blood of them, their wives, and posterity, I think it would cause a great number to beware of extortion.'

Could Gilpin and Latimer have looked three centuries onward, they would have seen the slow action of the spirit which they execrated, replacing the ancient agricultural system of England by another which extracted fourfold produce from the soil; scattering colonies over

the wide earth which were expanding into new empires; covering the ocean with vessels thick as the sea-fowl; converting hamlets into huge towns, and into workshops of industry peopled with unimagined millions of men! Being but human, however, like others round them, they could see only what was passing under their eyes. They beheld the organization of centuries collapse, the tillers of the earth adrift without employment, villages and towns running to waste, landlords careless of all but themselves, turning their tenants out upon the world when there were no colonies for them to fly to, no expanding manufactures offering other openings to labour. A change in the relations between the peasantry and the owners of the soil, which three hundred years have but just effected, with the assistance of an unlimited field for emigration, was attempted harshly and unmercifully with no such assistance in a single generation. Luxury increased on one side, with squalor and wretchedness on the other, as its hideous shadow. The value of the produce of the land was greater than before, but it was no longer distributed. It fell into the hands of the few, and was spent in the purchase of luxuries from abroad; the Spartan severity of the old manners was exchanged for a fantastic and mischievous extravagance.[1]

[1] 'To behold the vain and foolish light fashions of apparel used among us,' says Becon, 'is too much wonderful; I think no realm in the world—no, not among the Turks and Saracens—doth so much in the vanity of their apparel as the Englishmen do at this present. Their coat must be made after the Italian fashion, their cloak after the use of Spaniards, their gown after the manner of the Turks,

The strictest canons of political economy do not give unrestricted scope to the rights of property. The State

their cap must be French, their dagger must be Scottish, with a Venetian tassell of silk. I speak nothing of their doublets and hoses, which for the most part are so minced, cut, and jagged, that shortly after they become torn and ragged. I leave off also to speak of the vanity of certain light-brains, which because nothing should want to the setting forth of their fondness, will rather wear a marten chain the price of eightpence than they would be unchained. What a monster and a beast of many heads is the Englishman now become! To whom may he be compared worthily but to Æsop's crow, for as the crow decked herself with the feathers of all kinds of birds to make herself beautiful, even so doth the vain Englishman for the fond apparelling of himself borrow of every nation to set himself forth gallant in the eyes of the world. He is not much unlike a monster called chimæra, which hath three heads, one like a lion, the other like a goat, the third like a dragon.'—BECON's *Jewel of Joy*.

Under Mary, to make the English more like human beings, a 'device' was drawn for an Act of apparel, which, however, could not be carried. It set forth 'that the ladies and their maids at Court did so exceed in apparel, that many of them went so richly arrayed on working days as the Queen's Majesty's mother did on holydays; so that it would be wished that no lady, knight, nor knight's wife, nor gentlewoman, nor gentleman under the degree of a lord, should have but one velvet gown, one damask gown, one satin gown for winter, and the like single gown for summer. Providing always that they should have for every one silk gown a gown of felt, or russet, or camlet, or worsted, and if they list, garded or welted, so that there be not above a yard and a half of velvet, and that they shall use no embroidery upon any garde, and that they shall wear some of their gowns of cloth, russet, camlet, or worsted three days every week upon pain of ten shillings a day.'

A surveyor was to examine ladies' wardrobes from time to time, and report upon them, while for gentlemen there was another not less important direction.

'Provided also for these monstrous brecches commonly used, none under the degree of a lord or a baron shall wear any under pain of three pounds a day; none to have any stuffing of haire, wool flocks, towe, or other ways; and no man of little stature to have a bowe more than a yard and a half in the outer side, and the bigger men and the guards two yards, upon pain of twenty shillings a day the wearer, and forty shillings the maker of the

claims an interest in the condition of the people which overrides personal privileges. In our own time, even with the whole world open for destitution to escape into comfort, a poor rate to the extent, if necessary, even of temporary confiscation,[1] is levied upon the land, if those who are born upon it cannot otherwise be saved from starvation. At a time when there was no organized system of relief, it was absolutely necessary to do something, though what should be done was more difficult to say. Sir William Paget touched the very heart of the matter when he said that there was no religion in England. 'Society in a realm,' he wrote to the Protector, 'doth consist and is maintained by means of religion and law, and these two or one wanting, farewell all just society, government, justice. I fear at home is neither. The use of the old religion is forbidden, the use of the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of eleven of twelve parts of the realm.'[2] When religion revived, the country righted of itself. The ancient healthy tone of English custom returned. The people and the Crown united to replace the old ways, so far as it was good that they should be replaced. The

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hose.'—*MS. Domestic*, Mary, State Paper Office.

In a variety of inventories of furniture in gentlemen's country houses in the reign of Mary, I find the hangings of beds—not of state beds, but beds for common use—to have been of blue or crimson velvet; the window-curtains of satin, and, in fact, everything except the washing apparatus, of which there is little or no mention, to have been similarly gorgeous.—MS. Ibid.

[1] In many parts of Ireland, during the great famine, the poor-rate was twenty shillings in the pound.

[2] Paget to Somerset: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

grazing farms were disintegrated. The cottages of the peasants had again their own grounds attached to them. In twenty years a greater breadth of land was under the plough than had been broken for a century; and though prices still rose, and the altered spirit of property survived, yet the new order of things progressed slowly and moderately, and all classes were again prosperous and contented. But meanwhile the problem was one which would have tried a clearer intellect than belonged to Somerset. The ancient loyalty which had attached the yeoman to his feudal superior had given place to a deep and vindictive hatred. The lords, if less guilty personally than others of the landowners, did not care to compromise themselves by dangerous interference. The interests of the higher classes were combined against the lower, and the courts of law were themselves infected. What was to be done?

Principle and prudence would perhaps have united to recommend the Protector to set himself an example of abstinence from the pursuit of personal aggrandizement before he meddled with others. As Church and chantry lands fell in, he would have done wisely if he had neither kept them for himself, nor distributed them among his adherents; if he had disposed of them as national property and applied the proceeds to the restoration of the currency. Perhaps he was not wholly responsible for having missed seeing what his own and others' interests combined to conceal from him. Unhappily for himself, for his fortune and reputation, he entered upon a course, generous in intention, yet

rash and dangerous, and deliberately against the opinion of the rest of the council. He was constitutionally haughty, and he was conscious of a noble and honourable purpose. He determined to enforce the statutes; and as the courts of law were tedious and corrupt, to follow the perilous counsel of Latimer, who recommended him to follow Solomon's example, and hear the causes of the poor himself.[1] Paget, to whom he owed the Protectorate, and to whose advice he had promised to listen, warned him to be cautious. Let him strengthen the hands of the magistrates, keep order, and prevent breaches of the peace. Let him ascertain privately who were the greatest offenders against the tillage statutes, send for them separately, reason with them, and, if necessary, punish them. But, if he valued either his own welfare, or the quiet of the kingdom, let him not attempt to interfere by force; above all, let him not meddle with the courts of law. Somerset, rash, confident, and enthusiastic, told Paget that he was a Cassandra. He established a Court of Requests in his own house, to receive the complaints of those who failed to find justice at Westminster; and on the 1st of June he sent out a commission to inquire in all counties into the actual condition of all estates, towns, villages, and hamlets, with power to imprison any one who should attempt opposition, and to send up to himself the names of those who had broken the law.

June.

The commissioners were Fulke Greville, Sir Francis

[1] *Sermons*, p. 127.

Russell, Lord Bedford's eldest son, John Hales, clerk of the Hanaper, and three others. After dwelling in their instructions upon the causes of their appointment, and the unworthy shifts by which the Acts of Parliament were evaded, 'No good man,' the Protector said, 'will use such subtleties; he will rather abhor them; he will say, I know the laws were intended for the good of the State; men are not gods, and cannot make things perfect, therefore I will rather do that they meant, although without danger of the law I might do otherwise, and I will with all my heart do good to my country.' 'Let the commissioners do their duty bravely, and the world would be honest again; the great fines for lands would abate, all things would wax cheap; twenty and thirty eggs would again be sold for a penny, as in times past; the poor craftsmen could live and sell their wares at reasonable prices; and the noblemen and gentlemen who had not enhanced their rents would be able once more to maintain hospitality.' 'Thus,' he concluded, 'ye will serve God, the King, and the commonwealth. Put away all fear of any person—landlord, master, or other. If you serve God, the King, and the commonwealth truly and faithfully—as they be able to defend you against the devil, the world, and private profit, so you may be sure they will suffer no person to do you injury.'[1]

The enthusiasm of private individuals urges them to enterprises to which their natural strength is unequal;

[1] Instructions of the Protector to the Commissioners of Enclosures: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. iv.

they prove at last the sincerity of their own convictions by the sacrifices which they make for their success; if they are mistaken, and their expectations deceive them, they injure only themselves. The enthusiasm of statesmen is less innocent in itself or in its consequences. The leaders of a suffering nation cannot with impunity excite hopes of relief which they have no means of realizing; least of all when the fulfilment of such hopes depends on the exercise of virtues which in themselves they are careless of practising.

The commissioners were received by the people as angel messengers. 'The Iron world,' the country villagers exclaimed, 'is now at an end, and the Golden world is returning.' 'If the thing go forward,' Hales wrote to the Protector, 'never king had so assured subjects as his Grace shall have, nor ever governor under a king that had so many men's hearts and good wills as your Grace shall have.' 'If there be any way or policy of man to make the people receive God's word, it is only this, when they see it bringeth forth so good fruit that men seek not their own wealth, nor their private commodity. I do certainly believe in your Grace's sayings, that maugre the devil, private profit, self-love, money and such like the devil's instruments, it shall go forward, and set such a stay in the body of the commonwealth, that all the members shall live in due temperament and harmony, without one having too much, and a great many nothing.'[1]

[1] Hales to the Protector: STRYPE's *Memorials*, vol. iv.

The report of the commission was sent in, and the result of it was a petition, to be presented in the coming Parliament. The population, the petition stated, was diminished, the farmer and labourer were impoverished, villages were destroyed, towns decayed, and the industrious classes throughout England in a condition of unexampled suffering. The occasion was the conduct of the upper classes. 'Divers of the King's subjects, called to the degree of nobles, knights, or gentlemen, not considering that God had given them their high rank and place that they might be as shepherds to the people, surveyors and overseers to the King's Grace's subjects, and had given them sufficient provision that without bodily labour they might live and attend thereto,' had forgotten their obligations in their pleasures, and supposed that they might live for nothing else but to enjoy themselves, or make money for themselves. The petition requested, therefore, that no person of any degree, in possession of land, with more than a hundred marks a year, should farm any part of it beyond what his household required; that the great farms should be broken up; and that the Act should be enforced which required persons to whom abbey lands had fallen by gift or purchase, to 'keep an honest continual house and household on the same.' Fines were demanded in cases of disobedience; but on the whole the tone of the petition was moderate. The Acts of Henry, which were afterwards put in force by Elizabeth, extended the penalty in such cases to forfeiture. The present petitioners desired a fine only of ten marks a July.

month for such time as the law should be uncomplied with; half to go to the Crown, half to be divided between the informer and the poor of the parish which was injured.[1]

Thus on three sides the Protector had provided himself with occupation. He had war with France and Scotland; he had undertaken a metamorphosis of religion; and he was going to extirpate avarice, selfishness, and cruelty out of the heart of mankind and bring back the Golden age. A domestic misfortune, of no inconsiderable magnitude, added to the burden of his position.

1547. Lord Seymour of Sudleye, High Admiral of England, resembled his brother in an ambition which was disproportioned to his ability, in an outward magnificence of carriage, in personal courage, address, and general accomplishments. There the resemblance ended. The Protector was ambitious, that he might do great things for the country; his brother's was the ambition of selfishness: the Protector was religious; 'the Admiral,' said Latimer, 'was a man furthest from the fear of God that ever he knew or heard of in England.'[2] The Protector's moral life was blameless; the Admiral had seduced and deserted at least one innocent woman, who fell into crime and was executed.[3] The Protector, when uninfluenced by theological antipathies, desired to be just; the Admiral was a hard

[1] *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. v. State Paper Office.
[2] LATIMER'S *Sermons before King Edward.*
[3] Ibid

landlord, a tyrannical neighbour, an oppressor of the poor, a man of whom Latimer had heard so much wickedness that he ever wondered what would be the end of him.

Being the King's uncle, having committed no political offence, and having done good service at sea during the French war, Lord Seymour had nevertheless those claims to public employment which, with men of high birth and rank, have, at all periods in English history, been found sufficient to outweigh moral disqualifications. Henry VIII., though he had not named him among the executors, had given him a place on the privy council, and he was made High Admiral on the accession of his nephew. The precedents of English minorities were, however, in some degree departed from in his disfavour. When Henry VI. was a child, the Protectorate was separated from the office of guardian to the King. Somerset was at once Protector of the realm and governor of Edward's person.

Thus the Admiral, though raised to the peerage, presented with large estates, and with a lucrative and honourable office, was dissatisfied with his position; and, betraying at once the measure of his expectations, he required the consent of the council to his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, who was then not quite fifteen.[1]

[1] 'I told my Lord Admiral in the Park at St James's, that I heard one say that he should have married my Lady Elizabeth. 'Nay,' says he, 'I love not to lose my life for a wife. It has been spoken of, but it cannot be.'—Deposition of Katherine Ashley: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. vi. State Paper Office.

The Act of Seymour's attainder says that he attempted to marry Elizabeth immediately after the

The council knew his disposition too well to listen to such a demand; but, although directly refused, he would not relinquish hope at once. He bribed to his interest a gentleman of the household named Fowler, and desired him to introduce the subject to the King. Fowler made an opportunity, and asked Edward whom the Admiral should marry. Edward graciously offered Anne of Cleves; and then, after thinking a little, said, 'Nay, nay; wot you what? I would he married my sister Mary, to change her opinions.'[1] Anne of Cleves could in no sense be acceptable. A marriage with Mary would have satisfied Seymour's ambition, but her own consent would have been unobtainable, and the council would have been less willing to give him the elder sister than the younger.

He turned his thoughts elsewhere. Between himself and Catherine Parr, last queen of Henry, there had been some incipient love passages while she was the widow of Lord Latimer. Not choosing to risk a second refusal from the council, and undesirous probably that Queen Catherine should know that he had looked elsewhere, he made his own immediate advances in this quarter in private. The Queen promised to marry him in two years after her late husband's death; he successfully pressed her to abridge his probation to two months. Her sister, Lady Herbert, was the confidant;[2]

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death of Henry, but that 'he was stayed by the Lord Protector and other of the council.'—2 and 3 Edward VI. cap. 17.

[1] Deposition of John Fowler: *MS.* Ibid.

[2] Wife of Sir William Herbert, afterwards Lord Pembroke.

and within four months of her widowhood certainly, perhaps within three, she became privately his wife. Seymour was admitted occasionally at night into the palace at Chelsea, where the Queen resided,[1] and the indecorous haste might, possibly, have added a fresh difficulty in the succession to the crown.[2] The Queen's person being secured, the difficult question arose next how the affair should be made public. The Queen advised that her husband should tell the council that he was anxious to marry her, and should ask them to use their intercession with her. She would not have him apply particularly to his brother. It would be enough to ask the Duke once, and his refusal, if he refused, 'would but make his folly manifest to the world.' The King and council would, no doubt, write to her. If the Duke and Duchess did not like it, it would be of no consequence.

The Admiral approved the advice, his only anxiety being that if the Protector and the Duchess consented, 'they should not afterwards be able to cast in his teeth

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[1] 'When it shall be your pleasure to repair hither, ye must take some pains to come early in the morning, that ye may be gone again by seven o'clock, and so I suppose you may come without suspect. I pray you let me have knowledge over-night at what hour ye will come, that your porteress may wait at the gate to the fields for you. By her that is and shall be your humble, true, and loving wife.'—Catherine Parr to Lord Seymour: Ellis, 1st Series, vol. ii.

[2] 'You married the late Queen so soon after the late King's death, that if she had conceived straight after, it should have been accounted a great doubt whether the child born should have been accounted the late King's or yours, whereby a marvellous danger might have ensued to the quiet of the realm.'—Articles against Lord Seymour: *Privy Council Records, MS.* Edward VI.

that by their suit he had obtained his wife.' The King's letter was managed through Fowler. Edward, for the interests of the realm, desired the Queen to look favourably on the suit of the uncle to whom she was already married. Seymour himself asked Mary to write; to whom, however, the suit appeared 'too strange to meddle with.' While the manœuvre was in progress the truth was discovered, and it is scarcely matter of wonder that 'my Lord Protector was much displeased.'[1]

Being done, however, the thing was passed over, and on the breaking out of the Scotch war, to cover unpleasant feelings, the Admiral was desired to take command of the fleet. But he was sullen, or he had schemes of his own. He gave his place to Clinton, reserving to himself the management of the Admiralty, and he stayed at home, pursuing his ambition or his amusements. Elizabeth, who had resided with Queen Catherine, and was ignorant, like the Queen, of the intentions that he had entertained towards her, was permitted unaccountably to remain at Chelsea Palace after the marriage was discovered. The Admiral abused his opportunities to inflict upon the princess an impertinent familiarity, and her attendants were scandalized at seeing him morning after morning, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by his wife, lounge into her room in his dressing-gown before she had risen.

Nor was Elizabeth the only lady of rank whose custody he took upon himself. Next in succession to his

[1] KING EDWARD'S *Journal*.

own daughters, Henry VIII. had named the daughters of his niece, Frances, Marchioness of Dorset. Lady Jane Grey, the eldest of three children, was made over by her father to Seymour, who promised him that she should marry the King;[1] while over Edward himself he gained influence by bribing his attendants, by secretly providing him with money, and suggesting insinuations against the parsimony of the Protector in his allowance. He made a party at the same time among the Lords and Commons. The Marquis of Dorset was 'so seduced and aveugled by the lord admiral, that he promised him that, except the King's Majesty's person, he would spend his life and blood on the lord admiral's part against all men.'[2]

So passed the time when Somerset was in Scotland. The invasion, Seymour told Edward, 'had been madly undertaken, and was money wasted in vain.' When the Protector returned in triumph, he whispered in Edward's ear, 'that he was too bashful in his own affairs; why did he not speak to bear rule as other kings did?'[3] As the meeting of the first Parliament approached, he complained to various persons, 'that the late King had not intended that there should be a Protector; that there ought not to be a Protector, or, at least, that if one uncle was regent of the realm, the other should have the custody of the King's person.'

[1] Deposition of Dorset: Deposition of Sir William Sharington: printed by HAYNES, *Burleigh Papers*, vol. i. Further Depositions of Sir William Sharington: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. vi. State Paper Office.

[2] Sharington's Confession.

[3] Deposition of Edward VI.

A bill was secretly drawn to separate the offices; to give effect to which he wrote a letter, purporting to be from the King to the Houses of Parliament, desiring them to favour his uncle the Admiral in a suit which he was about to bring forward; and this letter he begged Sir John Cheke, who was the King's tutor, to persuade Edward to copy out and sign.[1]

Cheke cautiously declined to meddle, and the Admiral then attempted Edward himself. But the boy was shrewd enough to see that it was no place of his to interfere in such a matter. 'If the thing was right,' he said, 'the Lords would allow it; if it was ill, he would not write in it.'[2] Seymour therefore determined to depend upon himself. His unprincipled selfishness was aggravated into hatred by some foolish jealousy between his wife and the Duchess of Somerset. He had a claim, or supposed that he had a claim, on certain jewels, detained by Somerset as Crown property, which Queen Catherine asserted to have been a gift from Henry to herself. 'If I be thus used,' he said to Dorset and Clinton on their way to Westminster, at the opening of the session, 'by God's precious soul I will make this the blackest Parliament that ever was in England.' He swore that 'he could live better without the Protector than the Protector without him.' He would 'take his fist to the ear' of the proudest that should oppose him, with other wild unpromising words.

Such a man was not likely to effect much in Parlia-

[1] Deposition of Sir John Cheke: TYTLER, vol. i.
[2] Deposition of Edward VI.

ment; his bill came to nothing; it was not so much as debated: and failing thus, he believed that he might secure the person of the King as he had secured his wife, by taking possession of it. Lounging one morning into St James's Palace, and seeing the gates opened and unguarded, he observed to Fowler, 'A man might steal away the King now, for there came more with me than is in all the house besides.' For the moment the enterprise was practicable enough, but he was perhaps suspected, and the palace was better defended for the future.

His wild language, his conversation with the King, his general insolent bearing, coupled with his refusal to take service with the fleet when called upon, at last induced the council to require him to appear before the board and explain himself. He defied their summons, dared them to imprison him, and disobeyed. The Protector could be severe to injustice with Gardiner, with his brother he was unjustly gentle. He permitted him to insult with impunity the authority of the Government, he 'laboured,' through 'persuasion of friends,' 'to frame him to amendment of his evil.' 'Considering the age of the King,' 'his subjects not altogether in the best concord for religion,' and the possibility of 'tumult and danger,' he thought to bridle him with liberality;' and therefore allowed him to retain the office which he abused, and gave him further 'lands to the yearly value of 800*l.*'[1]

[1] Act of Attainder of Lord Seymour of Sudleye.

It was 'hire and salary' to persevere in misconduct. But the Admiral wanted discretion to be a successful conspirator. He could not wait for opportunities; his unquiet nature preferred unquiet means. His business at the Admiralty courts had made him acquainted with a class of men who, under various aspects, would play a great part in the coming half-century. The improvements in navigation which followed the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, the extension of trade, and the increased value in the freightage of merchant vessels, had spread over the seas an abundance of easy booty. The privateers, Spanish, French, English, Scotch, and Flemish, who in time of war learnt the habits of plunder under a show of legality, glided by an easy transition into buccaneers whenever peace withdrew from them their licenses. The richness of the possible spoils, the dash and adventure in the mode of obtaining it, and the doubtful relations of the Courts of Europe to each other, which made the services of such men continually valuable, and secured them the partial connivance of their respective Governments, combined to disguise the infamy of a marauding profession. The pirate of to-day was the patriot of to-morrow, and fleets of adventurers recruited largely from the harbours of Devonshire and Cornwall, twenty and thirty sail together, haunted the mouth of the Channel, pillaging Spanish gold-ships from Panama, French wine-ships from Bordeaux, the rich traders from Antwerp or from their own Thames, with great impartiality, and retired, if pursued, among the dangerous shoals of Scilly, or the dis-

tant creeks and coves on the south coast of Ireland.[1] Complaints came frequently before the Admiralty

[1] Accounts of these buccaneers are frequent in the Irish State Correspondence. At the beginning of the reign of Edward VI., proclamations were out for the arrest of two famous rovers, named Thomson and Stevenson. The Mayor of Cork wrote to Dublin that they were lying in the harbour there, the country people openly resorting to their ships, and he himself, the Mayor, for fear they should burn the town, allowing them to buy what they wanted in the market. Another letter from the same place described Captain Strangways, another pirate, with thirteen of his men, lounging about Cork, the mayor afraid to meddle with them, and some of the party busy casting cannon.—*Irish MSS.* Edward VI. State Paper Office.

The following letter from Kinsale is an exact transcript;—

'TO SIR EDWARD BELLINGHAM, LORD DEPUTY.

'Right Honourable,—After our humble dutyes premyssyd unto your good Lordship, pleasyd the same to be advertysyd that we resheweth your letter the 13th day of July, and as we persew the tenore, we wyll fulfyll your Lordship is comandiment both nyght and day to the uthermost of our puere, which is lyttel Gode knowis, for all our men dyed with pestelent, and we have a wyde empty thowne and few men, and naghty and unstruly negboris, which we rest not nyght nor day, buth waget our thowne for ferd of the Irysmen abuthe us be lande and be see allsoo. The contre abuthe us is in wast, and all the socure that we were wonth to have is be our hawen; buth naw ys stoppyth from us be Eglis pyraturs, which wolde not suffure no wyttell no socure comys to us, buth tak it within our hawen. And now of lathe cam on Richard Colle with a Spinache and 18 or 20 men, and maryde with Barry Oghe is aunt, and dwellyth in his castell within our hawen and our lyberty, and there he remanyd and wold not suffure non to cum to the thowne, buthe tak them and spoyl them, whiche is grett henderanche to us Gode knowys, and if it lyeth in our puere to mett with hem, we knowe not what ys your wyll therein; desyring your honourable Lordship to wrytt us what ys best to do. Wrytten at Kynshall the 15th day of July, 1548.

'Your Lordshyps most asuryd,
'THE SOFFREAYN AND
CONSSEILL OF KYNSHALL.'

Sympathizing readers will be glad to know that these pirates came duly to a becoming end. On the 25th of the same month of July, a large French vessel with a hundred hands came into Kinsale harbour.

Occasionally one of the vessels was taken, the crews were handed over to Seymour for justice, and the recovered cargoes were set apart to be restored to their owners. But the merchants, foreign and English, were exasperated to find that neither their goods were given back to them nor the offenders punished. Ornaments known to have been plundered were seen on the persons of the Admiral's followers. Notorious pirates brought in by the King's cruisers were set at liberty by his order; and suspicions went abroad that Lord Seymour was attaching them to himself for services on which he might eventually require their assistance. He was found to have made a purchase of the Scilly Isles, that they might be undisturbed in their favourite haunt; or that, if he failed in his larger schemes, he might open a new career to himself of revenge and pillage as a pirate chieftain.[1]

Money, as usual, in such cases, was the great necessity. The Protector's liberality had been excessive; but the income from landed property, however large, was insufficient for the exigencies of a conspiracy; and Seymour found means of replenishing his exchequer in a more questionable quarter. He had come to an understanding with Sharington, the master of the Bristol mint.

Colle attempted to take her, but failed; his crew, if not himself, were taken instead, and were disposed of on the yard-arm.

[1] 'You had gotten into your hands the strong and dangerous Isles of Scilly, where being aided with ships and conspiring at all evil events with pirates, you might have a sure and safe refuge if anything for your demerits should be attempted against you.'—Articles against Lord Seymour: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

The Admiral agreed to support Sharington before the council if Sharington were called to answer for his frauds. Sharington would coin money for the Admiral to any extent which the latter might require.

Knowing something of these doings, and suspecting more, the Protector from time to time remonstrated, but in language in which the supreme magistrate was lost in the brother;[1] while the Admiral considered the lightest admonition as a fresh provocation,[2] and thought only of supplanting him.

In the midst of his schemes Queen Catherine was confined of a daughter, and a few days after died. The Admiral's conduct immediately caused a belief that 'he had holpen her to her end;'[3] and had Queen Catherine been in any way an obstacle to his ambition, he would no doubt have rid himself of her with entire unscrupulousness. Men do not murder their wives gratuitously, however; her husband was losing a splendid connection, with no security that he would exchange it for a better; and his friends, and he himself, if his word could be trusted, held his position to be weakened by his loss. Catherine, probably, died from her confinement, but Seymour lost no time in attempting to improve his misfortune. Elizabeth had been removed from his house; she was now living at

August.

[1] See especially a letter of the 1st of September, 1548, printed by TYTLER, vol. i. p. 120.

[2] 'He told me that my Lord his brother was fallen out with him concerning the Admiralty, and how his Grace took their part before his. My Lord would have my head under his girdle, he said, but I trust we shall do well enough for all this.'—Fowler's Deposition: MS. Ibid.

[3] Act of Attainder of Lord Seymour.

Hatfield with an establishment of her own, and Seymour reverted to his original intention of marrying her. First, however, it was necessary for him to keep his hold on Lady Jane Grey. Somerset wanted to marry this lady to his own son Lord Hertford (or so the Admiral affected to fear). On the Queen's death, Lady Dorset naturally considered his house no longer a proper residence for her daughter; and if she once left his roof, the Protector, he believed, would take possession of her. The father's authority was brought in, therefore, to overbear the mother's. The Admiral had lent Dorset money, and promised to lend him more. Lady Jane was allowed to remain.

This difficulty being disposed of, he turned to Elizabeth. By free use of money, Seymour gained to his interests her governess Mrs Ashley, and the steward of her household, Sir Thomas Parry. His name was kept incessantly in the ears of the young princess. His merits and his feelings towards herself were the perpetual theme of conversation; and as a first step she was pressed to declare that she would take the Admiral for a husband, if the council would consent. A girl of sixteen might be excused if she had erred when her protectors were betraying her. But she refused to say anything. She would not admit a question of her own feelings till the council had expressed theirs; least of all would she admit Seymour to an interview, though he pressed for it with ingenious excuses.[1] Yet

September.

[1] Those who are curious in such stories may study the details of Sey-

it is uncertain how his suit might have eventually ended His object was to anticipate objections by the same expedient of a secret marriage, which had answered before, and Elizabeth's resolution might have possibly yielded before the persuasion of her friends,[1] had not the many-sided schemes of the Admiral revealed themselves in time.

While intriguing with the household at Hatfield, he was preparing for the movement for which the next session of Parliament was to give the occasion. The failures in Scotland, and the religious discontent which was commencing, had already shaken the Protector's authority. Lord Seymour intended to take his brother's place. He had arranged with Sharington for money sufficient to keep ten thousand men in the field for a month. Dorset was devoted to him, and Catherine Parr's brother, Lord Northampton, was well inclined.[2] He had fortified and provisioned Holt Castle. He had a cannon foundry in the country, and another at Southwark, where he had thirty workmen in constant employ, and twenty-four cannon, with thirteen tons of shot, ready prepared for immediate service.

Such was the aspect of England when the first

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mour's courtship of Elizabeth, in the examinations of witnesses, printed by HAYNES in the first volume of the *Burleigh Papers*, and in the supplementary collection, in the sixth volume of the *Domestic MSS.* of the reign of Edward VI., in the State Paper Office.

[1] In the tone in which she spoke of him to Mrs Ashley, a kind of regard seemed to be struggling with contempt 'In love with him,' to use the language of some historians on the matter, she certainly never was, but it might have come to that with time and opportunity.

[2] See the depositions in HAYNES.

Parliament of Edward VI. assembled for its second session on the 24th of November, to sanction the changes of creed and ritual which Cranmer was now ready to bring forward. The Latin services were to be completely and finally superseded by an English Prayer-book, a draft of which was at last in a condition to receive the consent of the Lords and Commons. The Archbishop, 'to build up,' as he said, 'a body of doctrine which should be agreeable to Scripture,' had collected opinions from all parts of Europe. He had brought over Peter Martyr and Bernard Ochin, and many other Continental Reformers, Zuinglians and Lutherans, to assist him; he had entreated the help, either in person or by letter, of Melancthon. Extreme views on either side had neutralized each other; and the result of his labours was the first imperfect draught of the *Book of Common Prayer* of the present Church of England. The magnitude of the innovation can now be with difficulty appreciated, when the novelty of the sixteenth century has in its turn been consecrated by time. Of the strange features of the change the strangest was, perhaps, that the official opinion of Convocation was scarcely asked even in form. Parliament now discussed the faith of England, and laymen decided on the doctrines which the clergy were compelled to teach.

Nov. 24.

The minor business of the session has first to be related. The petition presented by the Commissioners of Enclosures was made the foundation of an Enclosure Bill, which was rejected summarily by the House of Lords. Mr Hales persevered, and produced a second,

which the Lords passed; but on going to the House of Commons, the lamb, he said, was in the wolf's custody. It was pulled in pieces in committee, and came to nothing. A third found a similar fate; and the Protector had succeeded only in raising hopes which he was obliged to disappoint.[1] The Clergy Marriage Act of the last year was brought up again, and discussed in many forms. First, it was proposed that laymen having wives might be made priests; then, more vaguely, that married men might be priests. At last it was determined simply to repeal all positive laws enforcing celibacy, as having given occasion to vice. But, in abolishing the prohibition to marry, the Parliament continued to signify their moral disapproval. 'It were better for the estimation of priests,' they said, 'and therefore much to be wished, that they would willingly endeavour themselves to a perpetual chastity.'[2]

'Fasting' was next dealt with in a similar spirit of compromise. In the light of the new doctrine the distinctions between days and meats no longer existed. There was, and could be, nothing definitely pleasing to God in eating meat or abstaining from it on one day more than another; yet, 'due and godly abstinence from flesh was a means to virtue, to subdue men's bodies to the soul and spirit.' 'By eating of fish much flesh was saved to the country,' and the fishing-trade was the nursery of English seamen. For these causes, true each in itself, however grotesque they appear in combination,

[1] STRYPE'S *Memorials of the Reformation*, pp. 210, 211.

[2] 2 and 3 Edward VI. cap. 21.

Fridays, Saturdays, the eves of saints' days, Ember days, and Lent, were ordered to be observed in the usual manner, under penalties for each offence of a fine of ten shillings and ten days' imprisonment.[1] It was undesirable to allow the fishermen to be thrown suddenly out of employment till a natural demand had taken the place of an artificial one; it would have been better if, in other respects as well as here, ancient customs had been allowed to wear themselves out, and to die of disuse.

But the question of the session was the Prayer-book and the Act of Uniformity; and in the Prayer-book the service for the communion. The change of substance in the elements at the eucharist, the material incorporation of the believers in the body of Christ by the reception of those elements, was and is the essential and central doctrine of the Catholic Church. That body when it left the grave was subject no longer to the ordinary conditions of matter. It ascended to heaven, that it might fill all things. In the sacrament it became flesh of man's flesh, and not in metaphor, but in literal truth, was the mechanical instrument of man's salvation. So the Catholic believed; so more vaguely, yet not less positively, the Lutheran believed. The mystic words spoken by the priest in the consecration formed the keystone of the arch which joined the visible and the invisible worlds; and round these words and their accessories the controversy between Catholic.

[1] 2 and 3 Edward VI. cap. 19.

Lutheran, and Zuinglian was now revolving. On the passing of the Act, in the session of 1547, for communion in both kinds, a service had been put out in which the Catholic doctrine was maintained substantially intact; but heresy and orthodoxy changed places rapidly, and among the reforming clergy Lutheranism was fast disappearing. On the opinions of Cranmer himself there was still uncertainty.

Though the Act of Uniformity was not brought forward till the 7th of January, the book of which the Act was the sanction must have been laid before the Houses at the beginning of the session. 'On the 14th of December,' Bartholomew Traheron wrote to Bullinger, 'a disputation was held on the eucharist in the presence of almost the whole nobility; the battle was sharply fought by the bishops; Canterbury, contrary to expectation, maintained your opinion (the Swiss); truth never obtained a brighter victory; it is all over with the Lutherans.'[1] On the 22nd of December John Isham, writing to Sir Edward Bellingham, in Ireland, said:—'Blessed be God, all things go well forward here in the Parliament House, for they go directly and clearly to extinguish all Popish traditions, and do set forth the true word of God; and goodly orders be already devised to establish the King's Majesty's realm, in divine service to be used in his churches. But there is great sticking touching the blessed body and blood of Jesus Christ. I trust

Jan. 7.

Dec. 14.

[1] Traheron to Bullinger: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ.

they will conclude well in it, by the help of the Holy Ghost, without whom such matters cannot well be tried. Part of our bishops[1] that have been most stiff in opinion of the reality of his body, that as He was here on earth, so He should be in the bread, now confess and say that they were not of that opinion. But yet there is hard hold with some to the contrary, who shall relent when it pleaseth God.'[2]

The victory, notwithstanding Traheron's auguries, was still doubtful on the 26th of December, and Peter Martyr was in alarm at the vigour and determination of the Catholics; if the body of Gardiner were in the Tower, his spirit was abroad and powerful. 'There is so much contention about the eucharist,' Martyr said, 'that every corner is full of it; every day the question is discussed among the Lords, with such disputing of bishops as was never heard; the Commons thronging the Lords' galleries to hear the arguments.'[3]

Dec. 26.

The nature of the debates can be conjectured only from the result, which, as on the other questions, was a compromise. On the 7th of January the Act of Uniformity was brought into the House of Lords; on the 15th it was passed; eight Bishops—London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester—the Earl of Derby,

1549. January.

[1] He means Cranmer.

[2] Isham to Bellingham: *Irish MSS.* vol. v. Edward VI. State Paper Office.

[3] Peter Martyr to Bucer: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ.

Lord Windsor, and Lord Dacres, remaining to the last dissentient. These would have had no change; they would have retained the breviary and the missal: but neither were the Genevans any more successful on the other side. The first communion service was retained, with scarcely an alteration; and the mystery of the eucharist was left untouched;[1] the minister was still uniformly called 'a priest;' the communion-table uniformly an altar; and prayers for the dead were retained in the burial service, and in the prayer for the Church militant. The English people were tenacious of their old opinions. The ultra-Protestant changes in the Prayer-book of 1552 were followed by a recoil under Mary to the mass, and the ultimate compromise under Elizabeth indicated the stationary point at which the oscillations of the controversy tended at last to rest.

In the midst of these grave questions, the attention of the Government and of Parliament was called away to the wild doings of Lord Seymour. Misconceiving his position, his strength, and his popularity, the Admiral had scarcely cared any longer to throw a veil over his intentions. The fortunes and prospects of Elizabeth and Mary were left by Henry contingent on

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[1] Among the directions at the end of the communion service in the Prayer-book of 1549, the bread was ordered 'to be such as had been heretofore accustomed, each of the consecrated breads to be broken into two pieces or more, at discretion;' 'and men,' it was said, 'must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of Our Saviour Jesus Christ.' It was ruled also that 'the people should receive the sacrament in their mouths at the priest's hands.'

their marrying with the consent of the council. Seymour's views upon the former were widely suspected, and Lord Russell warned him that he for one would support in such a matter the will of the late King. But Seymour supposed that he could overbear minor difficulties; he had Dorset and Northampton with him; to the Earl of Rutland he talked openly of putting an end to the Protectorate; he had told him that he looked for his support in the House of Lords and elsewhere, and advised him to make a party in the country, among the yeomen and the franklins. Trusting that Wriothesley still resented the loss of the chancellorship, he tried to gain him too by a promise that it should be restored. In Wriothesley, however, he found himself at once mistaken. 'For God's sake, my Lord,' the ex-chancellor replied to his advances, 'take heed what you do; I hear abroad that you make a party.' 'Marry, I would have things better ordered,' the Admiral said. 'My Lord,' said Wriothesley, 'beware how you attempt any violence. It were better that you had never been born, yea, that you had been burned quick alive, than that you should attempt it.'[1] So much as Wriothesley knew of his proceedings was carried at once to the Protector, who replied that the Tower, if nothing else, should keep his brother from Elizabeth. Lady Jane Grey, it was insisted, should return at once to her family. In the middle of January further communications were made by Rutland, and Seymour once more was called on to

[1] Deposition of the Earl of Northampton.

appear before the council, and answer for himself. But he believed that he might continue to resist with impunity. He did not choose to admit the Protector's authority, and while he hated him, he presumed upon his forbearance. He wrote a letter of excuse, which he showed before he sent it to the Earl of Warwick.

The ambitious Warwick had but little love for the Duke of Somerset; but, if there was to be a change in the Government, he did not mean it to be for the advantage of another Seymour. The Protector, Warwick said, would arrest him; at least, if he were himself the Protector, he would arrest him. 'By God's precious soul,' Seymour answered, 'whosoever lays hands on me to fetch me to prison, I shall thrust my dagger in him.'[1] Such a state of things could not continue. On the 17th of January an order of council was taken for his seizure, and he was committed to the Tower. The imprisonment of the Admiral was an intimation of his weakness to his accomplices, who made haste to save themselves at his expense. Sharington threw himself on the mercy of the Government, and made a full confession. The extent of his frauds at the mint appeared now to be something like 40,000*l.*—that is, he had put into circulation a hundred thousand pounds in base silver coin. The feeble Dorset told of the promise to marry Edward to Lady Jane Grey. Katherine Ashley was arrested and questioned. Sir Thomas Tyrwhit went down to Hatfield to examine Elizabeth. The cannon foundries were

[1] Deposition of the Earl of Warwick: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. vi. State Paper Office.

discovered; the secret dealings with the pirates; all the features of a conspiracy, in which personal ambition was unredeemed by the affectation of a public object, or by a reasonable prospect of success.

Evidence of various kinds flowed in through the close of January and the greater part of the month following; Parliament meanwhile passing a subsidy bill for the defence of the country. Whatever differences of opinion might exist on his policy, Somerset found Parliament so far ready to support him. The clergy granted an income-tax of ten per cent. for three years. The laity gave a shilling in the pound on their personal property, with a poll-tax of eightpence on male subjects above twelve years old, and a further duty on sheep and wool; 'considering,' as they said, 'the condition of the world,' the intrigues of France in Scotland and Ireland, the probability of a combination of the Catholic powers under the Pope to put down the Reformation; and 'content to leave father, mother, brethren, sisters, wives, children, lands, and goods, yea, and this mortal life also, rather than deny Christ and forsake his word.'[1] February.

The conspiracy being finally unravelled, Sir William Sharington was then, after a full confession, attainted; and on the 23rd of February the privy council in a body waited on the Admiral in the Tower. The charges against him, thirty-three in number, were read over in his presence, and he was asked whether Feb. 23.

[1] 2 and 3 Edward VI. capp. 35, 36.

he, on his part, had any defence to urge. He replied that he would say nothing, except in open trial. The chancellor ordered him to speak on his allegiance. 'His resolute answer was, that for a reply they should not look for it from him.'[1] Possibly he trusted to his friends, possibly to the divisions in the council, possibly to his brother; at all events, he would not answer.

Lord Seymour has not failed to receive from historians the sympathy which is bestowed so generally on political sufferers. He has had the advantage of an indignation which assumes, as a rule admitting of but few exceptions, that all who have inflicted punishment have been tyrants, all who have endured punishment have been martyrs. There are many writers whose 'virtue' it is

> To make him worthy whose offence subdues him,
> And curse that justice did it.

Where there has been a trial, they set it aside as of no authority; where there has been an attainder, they exclaim against the want of a trial; as if the unscrupulous abuse of power which could carry an Act of Parliament by intimidation, would not equally have infected a court of justice.

The Admiral, refusing to answer or explain 'when peradventure there might have been hopes for him either to be found guiltless, or to receive pardon,'[2] the question arose next, 'whether he should be proceeded against by order of justice and custom of the realm; or, specially, since Parliament was sitting, whether

[1] *Privy Council Records*, Edward VI. *MS.*
[2] *Privy Council Records, MS.*

Parliament should have the ordering of the matter.' The chancellor and the rest of the counsel gave their opinions one by one for an Act of Attainder; 'lastly, the Protector, declaring how sorrowful a case this was to him, said that he did yet rather regard his bounden duty to the King's Majesty and the Crown of England, than his own son or brother, and did weigh more his allegiance than his blood, and therefore he would not resist the Lords' request.' Edward himself was present on the debate; 'we do perceive,' the King said, when the Protector had spoken, 'that there is great things which be objected and laid to my Lord Admiral mine uncle, and they tend to treason; we perceive that you require but justice to be done; we think it reasonable, and we will that you proceed according to your request.'[1]

'Unjust,' exclaimed some among the English public. 'He should have been allowed to come to his answer.' 'Charity,' replied Latimer, assuredly no sycophant of Government, to such complainers, 'worketh to say the best of magistrates, and not to stand to the defending of a wicked matter. It is a good law for a man to answer for himself, reasonable, allowable, and good; and yet such urgent cause there may be, that a man may rightly be condemned in his absence. I am provoked of some to condemn this law, but I am not able, so that it be used rarely, for avoiding disturbances in a commonwealth. Surely I would have it done rarely,

[1] *Privy Council Records, MS.*

upon some great respect for avoiding tumults and peril. St Paul was allowed to answer for himself. If Lysias the tribune had not plucked him away from showing of his matter, it had cost him his life. When St Paul was saved by the magistrate, being but a private man, will ye not allow that something may be done for saving of the magistrate's life? I, for my part, think not but they of the Parliament did well. I advise thee, my fellow-subject, use thy tongue better, and expound well the doings of the magistrate.'[1]

Thanks were given to the King for his permission. A bill was drawn, and a committee of both Houses had the Admiral brought before them, 'that neither excuse for him, nor information to the Parliament, should want, if he could or would make any defence.' Finding that he was not to be tried, he then agreed to plead. The accusations were again read over, and he began his replies. The first charge was, that he had endeavoured to gain possession of the King's person: he admitted it; he had looked at precedents, he said, and had intended to bring a motion before the House of Lords; but Sir William Paget 'had made him ashamed of his doings, and he had left his labour.' He admitted next, that he had given money to the King's attendants, and to Edward himself; and that he had endeavoured to persuade Edward to write a letter to the Parliament to change the Government. But as the more serious charges followed, he gave up his defence; he had confessed enough, he said, and he would answer no more.

[1] LATIMER'S *Sermons*.

Feb. 25. The next day, the 25th, the bill was brought before the Lords. The witnesses repeated their evidence in person, and 'the judges declared the case to be manifest treason.' It was read a first time on the spot, and a second and third time on the two days following, without a dissenting voice; 'the Lord Protector only, for natural pity's sake, desiring license at the passing of the bill to be away.'[1] Among the Commons Seymour had a party, and there the matter 'was much debated and argued.'[2] 'His friends,' Latimer said, 'though he were not there himself, had liberty to answer for him; and there were in the Parliament a great many learned men, conscionable men, wise men.'

March. On the 5th of March the House of Commons desired to hear the evidence again, and Southampton, Rutland, Dorset, and Russell appeared to make their depositions. 'The minds of the lawyers being axed and declared,' they stated, 'that the offences of the Lord Admiral came within the compass of high treason; and when no man was able to say the contrary, being divers times provoked thereunto by the Speaker, the nether house being marvellous full, almost to the number of four hundred, not more than ten or twelve giving their nays thereunto,' the bill passed, and five days after was sent to the Crown, with a request that 'justice might have place.'

'And forasmuch as the council did perceive that the case was so heavy and lamentable to the Lord Protector,

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[1] *Privy Council Records*, Edward VI. *MS.* [2] Ibid.

if the King's Highness was so pleased, they said that they would proceed without further troubling or molesting either his Highness or the Lord Protector.'[1]

Somerset would still have interfered; and it was found necessary to prevent an interview between the brothers if the sentence was to be executed.[2] From the first he had endeavoured to overcome the Admiral's jealousy by kindness. He maintained the same tenderness to the end, while the Admiral's last action showed that he too was equally unchanged. On the 17th of March, the Bishop of Ely brought notice to Seymour to prepare for death. He employed his last days in writing to Elizabeth and Mary, urging them to conspire against his brother; that the letters might not miss their destination, he concealed them in the sole of a shoe; and when before the block, and about to kneel for the stroke of the axe, his last words were a charge to his servant to remember to deliver them.[3] For the rest, cowardice was not among his faults: he died without flinching; not, it would seem, at the first blow.

'As touching the kind of his death, whether he be saved or no,' said Latimer, 'I refer that to God. In the twinkling of an eye He may save a man, and turn

[1] *Privy Council Records, MS.*

[2] 'I heard my Lord of Somerset say, that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered, but great persuasion was made to him.'—Elizabeth to Queen Mary: Ellis, second series, vol. ii. p. 256.

[3] The words were overheard. The servant was examined, and the letters were found. They had been written with great ingenuity. 'He made his ink so craftily and with such workmanship as the like has not been seen. He made his pen of the aglet of a point that he plucked from his hose.'—Latimer's *Sermons*, p. 162.

his heart. What He did I cannot tell. And when a man hath two strokes with an axe, who can tell but between two strokes he doth repent? It is hard to judge. But this I will say, if they will ask me what I think of his death, that he died very dangerously, irksomely, and horribly. He was a wicked man, and the realm is well rid of him.'[1]

Sharington was pardoned. If there was injustice, it was in the mercy to the accomplice, not in the punishment of the principal offender. Latimer is likely to have been a better judge of Seymour's character and Seymour's crimes than those who would now impugn the sentence upon him.

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[1] LATIMER'S *Sermons*, p. 162.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FALL OF THE PROTECTOR.

NOTWITHSTANDING the new service-book, Somerset could scarcely have been satisfied with the condition of the country or with the results of his own administration. Parliament had granted a subsidy; but a subsidy threefold greater would not have extricated the treasury from its difficulties. The expenses of the war could be measured and allowed for; but the expenses of universal peculation were infinite, and from the royal palace to the police stations on the Tweed all classes of persons in public employment were contending with each other in the race of plunder and extravagance. The chantry lands, which, if alienated from religious purposes, should have been sold for the public debts, were disappearing into private hands, with small advantage to the public exchequer. The expenses of the household, which in 1532 were nineteen thousand pounds, in 1549 were more than a hundred thousand. Something was due to the rise of prices, and much to the currency; but the first preponderating cause was in the waste and luxury of the March.

courtiers, and all but universal fraud.[1] The captain of infantry on the Northern Border took pay and rations for the full number of his troop, and hired countrymen on muster-days to fill his empty ranks; his soldiers connived at his dishonesty, while he in turn indulged them in plunder. The 'labourers, gun-makers, powder-makers, bow-makers,' artificers of all kinds employed by the Government, called in vain for their wages.[2] The garrisons in the forts, on the coast, at Calais, and at Boulogne, were in the same case. Provisions were supplied them on credit, and the Government at times paid, or professed to pay, the contractors; but the troops were discontented, mutinous, and disorderly; their officers had lost control over them; sometimes, for the means of subsistence, they were driven to plunder beyond the borders of the Calais pale, on the French or Flemish frontier; and the council had to excuse themselves as they could to the Emperor.[3]

Undeterred by his embarrassments, the Protector was meditating another invasion of Scotland in the coming summer, and had sent to Germany for fresh levies of mercenaries. The Lanzknechts refused to serve, unless in numbers large enough to enable them to compel good treatment. 'If they should go less in number than three or four thousand men, they affirmed they

[1] The memoranda of the expenses of the household in the reign of Edward VI. were in a manuscript in the possession of Strype, who has printed extracts from it in the *Memorials of the Reformation*. Where the manuscript is now I do not know.

[2] LATIMER'S *Sermons*, p. 261.

[3] The Council to Sir Philip Hoby: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. bundle 1, State Paper Office.

should be brought to the butcher's stall.' 'It was said by the evil report of soldiers that had come out of England, that men there were more ordered like beasts than Christians, both in the scarcity of victual and payment.'[1]

April. The restoration of the currency, which had been twice feebly intended, was again postponed. When the time came for the bad coin to be called in, a proclamation was put out instead, ordering that bad coin and good should be received at a uniform price; and coiners and multipliers were threatened with forfeiture of life, lands, and goods; while Sir William Sharington, who had added treason and breach of trust to forgery, was pardoned and again employed. The daily supplies for the common necessities of the Government were provided by loans from the Antwerp Jews. The borrowing system commenced by Henry in the war had never ceased. The Government, since Henry's death, had run the usual course of spendthrifts—making promises of payment, and when they could not keep them, renewing their bills with increasing interest, and progressing from the open money-dealer to the usurious Jew. A Lazarus Tucker and an Erasmus Schertz were now the principal feeders of the English treasury. When Lazarus would lend no more, books were opened with Schertz; and then Lazarus, 'for malice of the other, and for his own profit,' would untie his purse, and lend again at thirteen per cent., deducting, however,

[1] Dymock to the Council. *MS. Germany*, Edward VI., bundle 1 State Paper Office.

thirteen per cent. additional on the exchange, from the condition of the English currency; while the Protector, on his side, would pay interest in 'kerseys, lead, and bell-metal.' The lead and bells he would take from the churches and chantries; the kerseys, it is to be hoped in charity, he did not purchase of the manufacturers in the base coin which they were compelled to accept as genuine. Never before, and never since, has an English Government been reduced to shifts so scandalous.[1]

The relations with France were more dangerous than if war had been declared. From many quarters the Protector was warned that an attack would be made on Boulogne in the summer. The council entreated him to reinforce the garrison, but he was busy with his own

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[1] See the Letters of the Council to Mr Damosell at Antwerp: *Flanders MSS.* Edward VI. State Paper Office. The character of the correspondence may be judged from such specimens as these:—'Forsomuch as the exchange falleth daily so sore, if you can devise to bargain with some of them to take kerseys or cloths for the money, and devise by what means the King might after that sort save the loss of the interest, and such exchange as he doth now sustain, ye should do right well in it, and deserve thanks.'

'When ye write that ye may have money to a 100,000*l.* upon interest, we would gladly know whether you could bargain with them, considering the fall of the exchange, that they would take payment in cloths and kerseys,' &c. &c.

It ought to be said that the Continental Governments were taking up money at the same careless rate; but the Continental Governments were also careless of tyranny to an extent beyond what the English council could venture on.

'When ye write,' they say, with a sigh of envy, 'of the Emperor taking on interest 14, 15, or 16 upon the 100, we understand that by Jasper Douchy's policy and other means he doth so order the matter that of what interest soever he taketh money, he maketh merchants and others there to bear the burden, and so be to him all one. The which we do not see can be like to the King's Majesty.' — Same to Same: *MS.* Ibid.

projects, and shut his eyes to the peril. The pirate fleet with which Seymour had been connected, amounted now to twenty well-armed vessels. The French Government gave them the use of their harbours, and the English traders were pillaged in revenge for the exploits of the privateers. When Flemish ships suffered also, the Emperor held the council in London responsible for the misconduct of its subjects, and the council were obliged to appeal to his forbearance and plead inability to put the pirates down.[1] Seymour's conspiracy at the same time opened a prospect of creating confusion, by which the French might profit. The Paris Government believed that such an enterprise, if it was real, would not have been ventured, unless there had been some secret disaffection more considerable than had come to light; and agents were sent both to England and to Ireland, if possible, to excite a civil war.[2]

April 17.

The Emperor was struggling with the Interim and

[1] 'If the Emperor shall demand satisfaction for the injuries of his subjects, you must thereunto reply that these pirates be at the least twenty sail now in company together, and among them a great many good soldiers and as expert mariners as any be, which being left in despair, will no doubt continue their former ill lives, robbing and spoiling as they have done, and also of like give ear to the present practices of the French.'—Council to Sir P. Hoby: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. bundle 1, State Paper Office.

[2] They considered, qu'une telle entreprise, sy elle est veritable, n'a peu avoir esté conjurer sans l'intelligence de beaucoup de plus grandes, les quelles ne peuvent avoir esté tous descouverts. Henry sent agents, therefore, afin de mettre de dans le dit Royaulme d'Angleterre s'il estoit possible une guerre civile, et les aviser à se venger les uns des autres pour d'aultant rendre ses affaires plus faciles, tant du costé d'Escosse que de celuy de dechà.—Documents communicated to Sir Thomas Gresham by the Regent of the Low Countries: printed by HAYNES.

the Bologna council. Yet his hostility was sustained uniformly to the extreme of his ability; to save his interests in Italy, it was his object to keep France occupied, and to exasperate, therefore, the English quarrel; and Cardinal Pole took the trouble to write a letter to Somerset, warning him that, when opportunity offered, Charles also would not fail to use it to revenge his own wrongs and the wrongs of the Church;—adding, at the same time, that the Catholic powers had not recognized the legitimacy of a prince who had been born when the kingdom was under an interdict.[1] The money loans at Antwerp were contracted in the face of an edict prohibiting the exportation of bullion from Flanders. The dealings with the Jews were contraband; and a large sum, as much, it was said, as 40,000*l.*, was intercepted and seized on its way to England by the officers of the customs. No provident English statesman could calculate safely on the maintenance of the treaty with the Emperor until England was at peace with France and Charles was again at war with it.

If England was insecure towards the Continent, at home things were on the edge of convulsion. The Enclosures Commission had excited hopes among the people, which Parliament had destroyed by refusing to consider their petition; and the fencing and hedging, sanctioned by the determination of the House of Commons, went on more actively than ever. The Catholics were irritated and

May.

[1] Correspondence between the Duke of Somerset and Cardinal Pole: *MS. Domestic*, State Paper Office.

disturbed by the religious discussions in Parliament, and by the change in the services; while even the Protestants were frightened by the wild opinions which were spreading under the shelter of the repeal of the heresy laws. 'How dangerously,' Hooper wrote to Bullinger, 'England is afflicted by heresies, God only knows. There are some who say the soul of a man is no better than the soul of a beast, and is mortal and perishable. There are wretches who dare, in their conventicles, not only to deny that Christ is our Saviour, but to call that blessed Child a mischief-maker and a deceiver. A great part of the country is Popish, and sets at nought God and the magistrates. The people are oppressed by the tyranny of the nobles; England is full of misery.'[1] June.

The Protector could not blind himself to symptoms so broad as these, but he was bent on going his own way, and the obstacles which he encountered made him impatient of advice, imperious, and headstrong. Sir William Paget, by far the ablest man upon the council, and a true friend to Somerset, implored him to be cautious; but he was so violent, that others durst not speak to him at all; and though Paget persevered, it was only to be 'whipped with sharp words.' 'How it cometh to pass I cannot tell,' Paget wrote at last, 'but of late your Grace is grown into great cholerick fashions, whensoever you are contraried in that which you have conceived in your head. A May.

[1] *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ, p. 41.

King which shall give men occasion of discourage to say their opinions frankly, receiveth thereby great hurt and peril to his realm. But a subject in great authority as your Grace, in using such fashions, is like to fall into great danger and peril of his own person, besides that to the commonwealth. For the love I bear to your Grace, I beseech you to consider and weigh it well.'[1]

With precarious authority and noble intentions, with moderate ability and immoderate ambition to do good, ready to think those only wise who flattered his hopes, and in his eagerness to accomplish great things, neglecting the immediate duties of the day and hour, Somerset was better qualified than most men to wreck his own fortunes and the cause which he attempted to guide. Forsaking those to whose counsel he had bound himself to attend, he had placed himself in the hands of obscure and venal satellites; and, corrupt as were the law courts of the day, the court which he had established in his own house, managed by such men as these, was probably, but more speciously unjust, while it had the further disadvantage of illegality.[2]

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[1] Paget to the Protector, May 18, 1549: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. vii. State Paper Office.

[2] Sir John Thynne was said by Paget to have been among the worst of the Protector's friends. The following story introduces both Thynne and his patron in strange company.

'William Wycherly examined, saith,—

'That about ten years past he used a rule called Circula Salamonis at a place called Pembersham, in Sussex, to call up Baro, whom he taketh as Oriental or Septentrial spirit; where was also one Robert Bayly, the scryer of the chrystal stone, Sir John Anderson, the magister operator, Sir John Hychely, and Thomas Gosling, in the which practice they had swords, rings, and holy water, when they were frus-

The scheme of policy which he had sketched for himself was sufficiently magnificent. A grand army

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trated, for Baro did not appear nor other vision of spirit, but there was a terrible wind and tempest all the time of the circulation. And since that time he used no consecrate circule, but hath used the crystal to invocate the sprat called Scariot, which he called divers times into the crystal to have knowledge of things stolen; which sprat hath given him knowledge an hundred time, and thereby men have been restored to their goods. And this practice by the crystal he hath at the command of my Lord Protector executed in the presence of Mr Thynne, Mr Whalley, Mr George Blage, Mr Chaloner, and Mr Weldon; and by this means my Lord Protector's plate was found where deponent told his Grace it was hid. He sayth that he can invocate the sprat into the crystal glass as soon as any man, but he cannot bind the sprat so soon from lying lies.

'As concerning the sword and the use thereof, he saith that he hath not used the same, save only about two months past he used holy water and a sword unconsecrated, and therefore ineffectuous, at Hale oak beside Fulham, where they digged for treasure and found none. But as they were working in the feat there came by them alongst the high way a black blind horse, and made deponent and others with him to run their ways.

'He saith that within this se'nnight Humfrey Locke, about Windsor Forest, and one Potter, of St Clement's parish, without Temple Bar, came to this deponent for a sword and a sceptre going upon joints, which hath been consecrated, and now are polluted, and a ring with the great name of God written thrice tetragrammaton, which this deponent delivered them, and they two with a priest intend at this or next lunation to conjure for treasure hid between Newbury and Reading.

'He saith that about nine years past he did conjure at Yarmouth in the great circule with the sword and the ring consecrated; but nothing appeared unto him, because that an old priest being there, was so sore afraid that he ran away before the spirit called Ambrose Waterduke could appear.

'Sir Robert Bryan, of Highgate, priest, some time an armyt, conjureth with a sieve and a pair of shears, invocating St Paul and St Peter, and he also useth the Psalter and key. One Croxton's wife, in Golding-lane, occupyeth the sieve and shears, and she only speaketh with the fayrayes.

'John Davy, a Welshman, late dwelling at my Lord Protector's place, is a prophesyer and a great teller of things lost.

'And this deponent sayth that there be within England above 500 conjurors as he thinketh, specially

was to invade Scotland in the summer. The Italian question thickening, Paget was sent to the Emperor to attempt to persuade him to repeat the policy of 1544; the Protector and Charles were each to enter France at the head of thirty thousand men 'galyardly,' and dictate moderation at Paris. The new Prayer-book was to come into use at Whitsuntide, and the mass—the Jacob's ladder by which for thirty generations the souls of men were supposed to have climbed to heaven—was to be put down and prohibited by law. Simultaneously the two Universities were made an arena for a disputation on the real presence, where foreign Protestants were to confound superstition. Heresy becoming so troublesome, a commission was appointed to hunt out and try Anabaptists; to examine them, to report on their opinions, and if mild measures of conversion failed, to deliver over the obstinate in the old fashion to the secular arm. Since Parliament would not listen to the wrongs of the people, another commission was directed to enforce redress by the Acts of Henry, and to accomplish by immediate constraint the restoration of the appropriated lands.

'To alter the state of a realm,' Paget wrote to Sir William Petre, when he heard of all this; 'to alter the state of a realm would ask ten years' deliberation. War abroad and war among ourselves, what prince that understands things would not gladly see one of them at an end ere he enter with us?'[1] 'Commissions out for

in Norfolk, Hertfordshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire.'—*Lansdowne, MSS.* British Museum.

[1] Paget to Petre; TYTLER, vol. i.

that matter,' he wrote again to Somerset, 'new laws for this, proclamations for another, one in another's neck, so thick that they be not set by among the people! Alas! sir, take pity of the King, of your wife, and of your children, and of the conservation and state of the realm, and put no more so many irons in the fire at once.'[1] But remonstrances were vain as ever. The Oxford and Cambridge schools rang with their unprofitable jargon, and the victory, of course, was ruled to the innovators. The commissioners of religion called up suspected Anabaptists. Processions of abjured heretics carried faggots at St Paul's, and Joan Bocher, a Kentish woman, who had views on the incarnation which she refused to abjure, was left in prison waiting further sentence.

Commissions, arguments which ought to convince, and a prison for those who remained unsatisfied; these, without further trouble, were to establish religion and restore the suffering people to prosperity. The Protector had early notice that success would be less easy than he desired. In reply to his Heresy Commission, a man at St Ives took a dead cat which had been lying in the street for a week, 'and did hang it up upon a post in the open market, the hinder legs cross nailed, the fore legs spread abroad and nailed, the head hanging on the one side, and a paper over it.'[2] The Princess Mary, when invited to receive the Prayer-book, replied that,

[1] Paget to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office.

[2] Simon Kent to the Bishop of Lincoln: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. vi. State Paper Office.

'although the council had forgotten the King her father, and their oaths to observe his will, yet for herself she would observe his laws as he left them' till her brother was of years of discretion.[1] The peasants, when the commission of enclosures was announced in May, took the redress of their injuries upon themselves; filled the ditches, levelled the hedges, tore down the palings of parks, and drove the deer and killed them.

On this last point the Protector came at once into open collision with the council. Somerset said openly that he 'liked well the doings of the people;' 'the covetousness of the gentlemen gave occasion to them to rise; it was better they should die than perish for lack of living.' Against the entreaties of all who were entitled to advise him, he replied to the commotion by a proclamation that illegal enclosures should be levelled on a day which he specified; and by a second, immediately following, that no one should be vexed or sued for any part which he had taken in the riots.[2] The more energetic among the lords resolved, in consequence, to act for themselves: they dispersed about the country; sheriffs and magistrates were directed by them to prosecute all disturbers of the peace by the sword; and if any of the people 'should be departed from their houses to any assembly for unlawful purposes, to spoil and rifle their houses, to their utter ruin and destruction, and the terrible example of others.'[3] Sir William Herbert,

[1] The Lady Mary to ——: ELLIS, first series, vol. ii.

[2] Articles against the Protector: printed by HOLINSHED.

[3] Proclamation of the Council on the Outbreak of the Rebellion: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. vi. State Paper Office.

whose own parks had been invaded, attacked the rioters in person, and cut some of them in pieces.

At this crisis news came from the western counties which exposed the weakness of the hopes with which Somerset was cheating himself. A religious insurrection he had believed to be impossible. He had been persuaded that the masses of the people sympathized with the changes which he was introducing. He had confounded a contented acquiescence in the separation from the Pope with an approval of innovations upon the creed.

It has been mentioned that a Government commissioner was murdered in the summer of 1548 in Cornwall. The Cornishmen had been neither conciliated nor terrified by the executions with which the crime was avenged; an organized spirit of disaffection silently spread, and Sir Humfrey Arundel, of St Michael's Mount, and Boyer, the mayor of Bodmin, were the intended leaders of a meditated rebellion. A second Pilgrimage of Grace was about to be enacted in England; the reader will observe, in the altered features assumed by the insurrection, the changes which had passed over the country.

The flame first kindled in the adjoining county.

The English liturgy was read in all churches for the first time on Whit-Sunday, the 9th of June, 1549. On Whit-Monday the priest of Sampford Courtenay, a village on the slopes of Dartmoor, in Devonshire, was going into church for morning prayers, when a group of his parishioners gathered about him, June 9.

asking what service he would use. The priest said that he must go by the law. The men answered they would have none of the new fashions; they would have the old religion of their fathers, as King Henry VIII. by his last will and testament had ordained.[1] The priest yielded willingly to compulsion. He put on his cope and vestments, and said mass in Latin, 'the common people all the country round clapping their hands for joy.'[2]

The neighbouring magistrates came the day after to make inquiries. The villagers collected with bows and pikes; and, after an armed conference, the magistrates, 'afraid of their shadows,' or in their hearts agreeing with the popular feeling, withdrew without further interference. The successful example was not long unimitated. In the same week, or within a few days, the wave of resistance swept over the country west of Exeter, meeting on the Tamar a similar movement swelling upwards from Cornwall. Of all the council Lord Russell was most closely connected with Devonshire. To Russell had fallen the domains of the abbey of Tavistock; St Mary's Clyst and part of Exeter itself belonged to him. Russell had commanded the musters of the county in the French war; and when

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[1] It is singular that a belief prevailed in all classes that Henry had forbidden by his will that any change should be made during the minority in Religion. Even Mary, as we have seen, shared it. The Protector was punished for his want of openness. He had made the will a mystery because it was inconvenient that the world should know that he had altered the disposition of the Government.

[2] HOLINSHED.

the news of the commotion reached London, Russell was chosen to put an end to it. Being prevented from setting out on the instant, Sir Peter and Sir Gawen Carew,[1] who were at the Court, went down before him, carrying private orders from the council, unknown to the Protector, to put the disturbance down promptly and sternly. On reaching Exeter they learnt that the rebels, now openly in arms, were assembled in force, seven miles off, at Crediton. The Carews collected a party of horse, set out for the place without delay, and on approaching the town found the streets barricaded and trenches cut across the roads. They dismounted and went forward on foot. On arriving at the first barricade, they were challenged, stopped, and told that they should not pass unless unarmed and alone. Sir Peter, accustomed to cross swords with the French chivalry, was not to be daunted by village churls; he charged the barricade, and was met with a shower of arrows and balls. The annoyance came chiefly from a row of barns at the end of the street, which were occupied by matchlock men. It was a difficulty which a

[1] The Carews of Mohuns Ottery were among the oldest of the Devonshire families. Sir Peter, after a wild boyhood, ran away to France, and took service as page with a nobleman at the Court of Francis the First. Being recognized by one of his father's friends, who was at Paris on an embassy, he was brought to London, where his gallant bearing recommended him to Henry VIII. He rose in favour; he served in the war under Sir John Wallop with high distinction, and afterwards inherited the family property between Exeter and Honiton. His brother, Sir Gawen, had Tiverton Castle. Minute descriptions of both Tiverton and Mohuns Ottery are in the State Paper Office. The latter was described as impregnable, except by cannon, and the furniture of the rooms would even now be considered magnificent.

wisp of straw would best remove; the thatch was lighted, and when the smoke and the blaze had cleared away, the assailants found the road open, but the town deserted, and the rebels scattered in the open country, where they could not reach them. At once the cry spread everywhere that the gentlemen were destroying the commons. 'The barns of Crediton' became a gathering word, and a flaming beacon of insurrection; and the Carews returned to Exeter only to learn that the commotion had broken out close at hand, almost within sight of the walls.

The day happened to be a holyday. Walter Raleigh, of Budleigh Salterton,[1] was riding home from the city; his road lay through St Mary's Clyst, a village two miles from Exeter, towards Topsham; and on the way he passed an old woman going to church, who was telling her beads. Raleigh, a sea-going man,[2] and like most men of his calling, inclined to novelties, told her she must leave her follies alone now; times were changed and the law was changed; she must live like a Christian woman, or it would be the worse for her. The old woman tottered on to the parish church, where service had begun when she entered; and 'she, being impatient and in an agony with the speeches past between her and the gentleman, began to upbraid in the open church very hard and unseemly speeches concern-

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[1] Father of Sir Walter, who was not yet born.

[2] He was the owner of one or more armed ships, popular among sailors, and probably, therefore, not unacquainted with privateering.

ing religion.'[1] 'Ye must leave beads now,' she screamed; 'no more holy bread for ye, nor holy water. It is all gone from us or to go, or the gentlemen will burn your houses over your heads.' About the same hour the Crediton barns were blazing. The villagers dashed out of the church; some cut down trees, and barricaded the bridge towards Exeter; others ran down to Topsham, and fetched cannon from the vessels at the quay. They overtook Raleigh on the road, seized him, and roughly handled him. The Walter of English fame might never have existed, had not 'certain mariners' come to the rescue.

Carew, after a night's consultation with the city magistrates, was on his horse at daybreak, with his brother. They galloped with their followers to Clyst, and were forcing their way over the bridge, when a gunner, 'in malice at Sir Peter for religion, and for the barns at Crediton,' blew the match of a cannon that swept the road. He was prevented from firing by a comrade; but a parley followed—an Exeter alderman was allowed to enter the village alone, to hear the people's complaints; while the Carews rode fretfully up and down the river banks, probing the mud with their lances to find footing for their horses. All day long the alderman remained among the rioters. Sir Peter would at last have dashed through at all hazards, had not his own people mutinied at his back. Chafing with indignation, he was obliged to return to the city;

[1] Narrative of Mr Hooker of Exeter — *oculatus testis*, as he calls himself: printed by HOLINSHED.

and at night his companions, with others of the corporation, appeared to tell him that there would be no quiet in Devonshire unless the council would leave religion as it had been ordered by Henry.

Sir Peter, in a rage, called the citizens traitors and poltroons. He would raise the force of the county, he said. He would call every loyal gentleman to his standard, and slash the rebel dogs into their senses. When the morning came he learnt that it was easier to say this than do it. Ten thousand Cornish were in full march from the Tamar. The roads round Exeter were beset; Walter Raleigh was again a prisoner; and the gentlemen were everywhere hiding for their lives in 'woods and caves.' There was nothing left but for him to escape and warn Russell. The mayor and aldermen, although they hated the religious changes as heartily as the rebels, promised to hold the city for the King as long as they had provisions to keep them alive. Carew made his way through by-lanes and paths into Somersetshire.

Unsettled as the country was everywhere becoming, the dimensions which the insurrection might assume were now altogether uncertain. Russell had reached Taunton, but he had no force with him adequate to the emergency. He directed Carew to hasten with his best speed to the Court, and make his report to the council. He himself went on to Honiton, intending to wait there for his reinforcements. Should Exeter fall meanwhile, and the rebels advance, he would retire on Sherborne and Salisbury.

Exasperated at his own mistake, disappointed at the interference with his plans which he foresaw must flow from the confusion, Somerset, when Sir Peter arrived, overwhelmed him with reproaches. Carew's violence, the Protector chose to think, had changed a riot into a rebellion, and Carew only was to blame. Sir Peter produced his orders, which it appears had been signed by Edward. The chancellor said a royal command was valueless without the great seal; the rest of the council stood by their own act, and high language was used on all sides. The Protector had considered himself a king all but in name;[1] but his royalty was a child of sunshine, and shade was fatal to it. It soon enough became clear that the causes of the rebellion lay deeper than the mistake of a single person. Posts came in one after the other with news that all England was stirring. Yorkshire was up; Northamptonshire was up; Norfolk and Suffolk were up. Peter Martyr and the Oxford controversy had set on fire Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire. The enclosures, the high prices, the change in religion, worked one upon the other, and the Protector found that he either must relinquish the Reformation, or lose the title of the people's friend. The many grievances were massed together inseparably; and the army of foreign mercenaries, which he had collected for the invasion of

[1] Paget to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, vol. viii. Edward VI. It is noticeable that in the preamble of a private Act passed in the late session, referring to the demise of certain of his lands, the Protector styles himself 'The Right Excellent Prince Edward, Duke of Somers.' —2 and 3 Edward VI. cap. 12.

Scotland, he must either permit to be used to crush the commons in a quarrel, to which, so far as the land was concerned, he had himself encouraged them; or he must take their side against the gentlemen, put himself at their head in a servile war, and give them back their mass.

The demands of the western insurgents, in a special form, followed close on Carew's arrival. The English service had been either studiously made ridiculous in the manner in which it was performed by the unwilling clergy, or the people had been taught to believe that it was something half profane, half devilish. The new communion, strangely, was thought, like the love-feasts of the Gnostics, to be intended as an instigation to profligacy.[1] In fifteen articles the Commons of Devonshire and Cornwall required the restoration of the Catholic faith and the extinction of Protestantism with fire and sword.

1. 'We will have,' thus imperiously their petition was worded, all the general councils and holy decrees of our forefathers observed, kept, and performed, and whosoever shall gainsay them, we hold them as heretics.

2. We will have the laws of our sovereign lord King

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[1] 'Doth receiving the communion either make matrimony or give authority and license to whoredom? Did not men and women always heretofore go to God's board, and receive together and all at one time as they do now; and did ever men think that they that did so should be in common?'—Answer of the Protector to the Rebels in the West: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office. Mr Tytler has printed the greater part of the paper from which the above passage is an extract. The passage itself, strange to say, he has omitted.

Henry VIII. concerning the six articles to be used again, as in his time they were.

3. We will have the mass in Latin, as it was before, and celebrated by the priest without any man or woman communicating with him.

4. We will have the sacrament hung over the high altar, and thus be worshipped as it was wont to be, and they which will not thereunto consent, we will have them die like heretics against the holy Catholic faith.

5. We will have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the people, and then but in one kind.

6. We will that our curate shall minister the sacrament of baptism at all times, as well on the week days as on the holydays.

7. We will have holy bread and holy water every Sunday, palms and ashes at the time accustomed, images to be set up again in every church, and all other ancient ceremonies held heretofore by our Mother Holy Church.

8. We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game. We will have our old service of matins, mass, even-song, and procession as it was before; and we the Cornishmen, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse the new English.

9. We will have every preacher in his sermon, and every priest at the mass, pray, especially by name, for the souls in purgatory, as our forefathers did.

10. We will have the Bible, and all books of Scripture in English, to be called in again, for we be informed that otherwise the clergy shall not of long time confound the heretics.

11. We will have Doctor Moreman and Doctor Crispin,[1] which hold our opinions, to be safely sent unto us, and to them we require the King's Majesty to give some certain livings to preach among us our Catholic faith.

12. We think it meet, because the Lord Cardinal Pole is of the King's blood, that he should not only have his pardon, but also be sent for from Rome, and promoted to be of the King's council.

13. We will that no gentleman shall have any more servants than one to wait upon him, except he may dispend a hundred mark land, and for every hundred marks we think it reasonable that he should have a man.

14. We will that the half part of the abbey lands and chantry lands in every man's possession, howsoever he came by them, be given again to the places where two of the chief abbeys were within every county where such half part shall be taken out; and there to be established a place for devout persons, which shall pray for the King and the Commonwealth. And to the same we will have all the alms of the church box given for seven years.

15. For the particular griefs of our country, we will have them so ordered as Humfrey Arundel and Henry Boyer, the King's Mayor of Bodmin, shall inform the King's Majesty, if they may have safe-con-

[1] Priests described by Cranmer as men of 'notable craft, wilfulness, and dissimulation.' They had, perhaps, been concerned in the disturbance of 1548.

duct in the King's great seal to pass and repass with an herald-of-arms.[1]

While the western rebels were demanding a return to Catholicism, those in the eastern counties were inclining to Anabaptism; but in the one and the other, and in fact all over England, were the two elements of discontent, which the Protector would so gladly have separated. If he maintained the Act of Uniformity, he must put down the demonstration against the gentlemen. If he hesitated, he must encourage heresy or reaction, or both.

A ruler strong enough to cope with embarrassments so complicated would not have allowed them to occur. Beset on all sides, and not knowing what to do, he wrote letters, issued proclamations, and appointed commissions. For the relief of the poor, he set out a tariff of prices for the necessaries of life, as if the condition of the country would permit the enforcement of it. One only feature was wanting in the confusion. It was announced that the Princess Mary had sanctioned the rebellion, and that her chaplains were among the insurgents at Exeter.[2] Had she yielded to the temptation,

[1] Demands of the Rebels, printed in STRYPE's *Cranmer*. Another set, differently worded, but to the same purpose, is given by Holinshed. There is an additional demand among the latter that the clergy should be prohibited from marrying. From other quarters there must have been more, which are lost, and to some of which the Protector's defence of the communion service must have been directed.

[2] Illud de Mario vel Marianis me valde angit immo prope exanimat. Faxit Deus optimus maximus pro suâ clementiâ malum id avertat. —Sir Thomas Smith to Cecil: TYTLER, vol. i. The meaning is scarcely disguised under the masculine termination.

she would perhaps have overturned her brother's throne. The Protector wrote to her: he told her what was generally said; and though he did not doubt her loyalty, 'her proceedings in matters of religion,' he said, 'being openly known, had given no small courage to the rebels.' Mary answered with haughty brevity that, if the realm was in disorder, the fault was not with her. Neither she nor any of her household had been in communication with the insurgents directly or indirectly.[1]

Mary had refused conformity, and Somerset did not dare to insist upon it. Prudent for once, he gave her license to use her own services at her pleasure. But, to quiet the country, he could expect neither countenance nor assistance from her, and resources in himself he had none. The council demanded that circulars should be directed to all noblemen and gentlemen, calling on them to arm their servants and tenants; to apprehend as they could all disturbers, and unite to enforce order. A circular was issued, but so vague in its terms that no one dared to act upon it.[2]

Sir William Paget, who was still abroad, in a clear and powerful letter, sketched a course for the Protector to follow. 'In Germany,' he said, referring to the peasant wars, 'when the very like tumult to this began first, it might have been appeased with the loss of twenty men; and after that with the loss of a hundred

[1] *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii.

[2] 'On my life, if my Lord's Grace would give authority to any one man to execute the proclamations, this whole shire shall be quiet. When the proclamations be directed so generally, every man looketh upon another.' — Sir Thomas Smith to Cecil.

or two hundred; but it was thought nothing. And also some spiced consciences, taking pity of the poor—who, indeed, knew not what pity was, nor who were the poor—thought it a sore matter to lose so many of their even Christians, saying they were simple folks, and wist not what the matter meant, and were of a godly knowledge: and after this sort, and by such womanly pity and fond persuasion, suffered the matter to go so far, as it cost, ere it was appeased, they say, a hundred thousand, but I know by credible report of some that were at it, at least threescore thousand men's lives. Likewise our business may, peradventure, at the worst, if resistance should be made, cost a thousand or two thousand men's lives. By St Mary, better so than mo. And therefore, sir, go to it betimes. Send for all the council that be remaining unsent abroad; and for because there are a good many of the best absent, call to your Grace to council for this matter six of the gravest and most experimented men of the realm, and consider what is best to be done, and follow their advice. Send for your Almayn horsemen; send for Lord Ferris, and Sir Wm. Herbert, to bring you as many horsemen of such as they dare trust out of Wales. Let the Earl of Shrewsbury bring the like out of Shropshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, of his servants and keepers of forests and parks. Go yourself, accompanied with the said noblemen and their companies; and appoint the Chief Justices of England, three or four of them to resort, with commission of oyer and terminer, to that good town which shall be next to the place

where your Grace shall remain. Attach to the number of twenty or thirty of the rankest knaves of the shire. Let six be hanged of the ripest of them, the rest remain in prison. And thus, sir, make a progress this hot weather, till you have perused all those shires that have offended. Your Grace may say you shall lose the hearts of the people; of the good people you shall not —of the ill it maketh no matter.'[1]

When the Protector received this letter, the danger was so imminent that he was obliged to send orders to Staines to break the bridge over the Thames, for fear of an attack on London.[2] Yet in the crisis of the peril, he sent out another of his unlucky enclosure commissions, with circulars, insisting that every gentleman on his own estate should 'reform himself before proceeding to the redress of others;' and throw down his hedges and embankments. 'Put the rebellion down first,' was the advice of Paget, and let the enclosers smart for it afterwards. But the Protector could not draw his sword against men whose cause he considered partially just. The Commons were driven to madness by the tyranny of the gentlemen and the Lords—was he to arm the oppressors with authority to destroy men for whose crimes they were themselves responsible?

July. At length, however, the religious element in the insurrection became, in the counties west of London, more and more preponderating. Somerset's

[1] Paget to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office. Printed in STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. iv.

[2] *MS.* Ibid. vol. vi.

indecision so far came to an end that he allowed the council to take their own course. As the treasury was unfurnished, the lords[1] emptied their own plate chests, sold their jewels, raised money by every possible shift. Northampton set off with fifteen hundred men to Norfolk. Lord Grey de Wilton with the Lanzknechts went westward, taking Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire in his route, to join Russell. Sir William Herbert made for Wales, to raise the force of the Borders, and march to Exeter across the Somersetshire flats. The Protector remained at the Court to use severity where his conscience permitted him. The Bishop of London had resisted to the last in the House of Lords the alteration of the services. He had not ventured to interfere with the introduction of the Prayer-book into his diocese, but it was observed that he had never officiated in English —that 'in London and elsewhere he was reported to frequent foreign rites and masses such as were not allowed by the order of the realm, contemning and forbearing to praise and pray to God after such rite and ceremony as was appointed.' He was commanded, therefore, to reside permanently in his house in London, under the eye of the authorities—to discharge in person all duties belonging to his office, and especially, under pain of being deprived and of incurring such other

[1] Before the rebellion was finally over, Herbert, Warwick, Russell, Arundel, Southampton, Dorset, Paget, Lord Wentworth, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Thomas Darcy, Huntingdon, Clinton, Cobham, and the Duchess of Richmond, subscribed among themselves something about a hundred thousand pounds. The account is drawn out in the hand of Sir Thomas Smith.—*MS. Harleian*, 660.

punishment as the law should direct, to preach a sermon which should be a satisfactory account of his opinions on the following points. He was to prove—

1. That all persons rebelling against their sovereign thereby incurred damnation.

2. Therefore, that the English rebels, specially those of Cornwall and Devonshire, 'were incurring damnation ever to be in the burning fire of hell with Lucifer, the father and first author of disobedience—what masses or holy water soever they went about to pretend.'

3. That 'Korah, Dathan, and Abiram pretended religion, and were swallowed up quick in hell'—that Saul was rejected for saving the sheep from sacrifice—that disobedience and rebellion, under any plea whatsoever, were hateful to God.

4. That vital religion consisted only in prayer to God—that rites, forms, and ceremonies were but the dress, or outward costume, which the magistrate might change at his pleasure—that if any man, therefore, persisted any longer in using the Latin service, his devotion was made valueless by the disobedience involved in the practice.[1]

The outward and silent submission of the subject to usages of which he disapproves may, under certain circumstances, be legitimately demanded; his allegiance to his sovereign and country is the only question on which he may be required to declare his private opinion. The Bishop of London was invited to teach what he was known not to believe. If he complied, his character was

[1] Orders of the Crown to Bonner, Bishop of London: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii.

forfeited. If he refused, his person was at the mercy of the Government. It was a repetition of the treatment of Gardiner, and the result was the same. He was held not to have given satisfaction; he was insolent on his examination; and he was imprisoned for the remainder of the reign. The story will now follow Lord Grey.

Round Oxford the parish priests had been excited by the theological controversies on the Eucharist. They had communicated their irritation to the yeomen and labourers, and the county was in disorder. But the people had no organization which would resist regular troops, and punishment was reserved chiefly for their instigators. The rope was introduced to give force to the arguments of Peter Martyr, and far and wide among the villages the bodies of the rectors and vicars were dangled from their church towers.[1] The bells,[2] which had been used to rouse the peasants, were taken down and sold for the benefit of the Government, 'leaving one only of the smallest size' to tinkle feebly for the English prayers.

Having restored order in Oxfordshire, Grey hastened on to Honiton, where his coming was anxiously looked for.

Lord Russell had waited, unable to move, till the few gentlemen who had collected about him dropped away, as day passed after day and brought no help.

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[1] *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii.

[2] I have found no especial directions for the Oxfordshire bells, but there was a general order of council, applying to all the disturbed districts, and there was no reason why Oxfordshire should be spared.

On the 2nd of July the insurgent army, for so it might now be called, appeared in force before Exeter. Elsewhere the rising was exclusively among the small farmers and the peasantry. In the west, where the religious grounds of discontent were stronger than the social, it had affected a higher grade, and Sir Thomas Pomeroy, and Sir Humfrey Arundel, Coffin of the north of Devon, and other men of weight and property, were among the leaders of an organized force twenty thousand strong, which, armed, disciplined, and provided with cannon, were collected under the banner of the cross. After taking possession of Exeter, they intended to march on towards London, raising the country as they went; and when they summoned the inhabitants to surrender, they expected immediate compliance and co-operation. In the city two violent factions, a Catholic and a Protestant, were divided by a large middle party, who, though conservative in religion, were loyal to law and order—who had no love for religious changes, but had less for treason and insurrection. In their names, and with their support, in spite of a demonstration from the Catholics, Blackhall the mayor kept his promise to Carew. The gates were barred and barricaded; the tradesmen were turned into a garrison. If the rebels desired to enter Exeter, they were told that they must find their own road into it.

Insurrections, to be successful, must be rapid. Had Arundel left Exeter to its fate, and gone forward, there was no force between him and London which he could not have overwhelmed; but a few days, he supposed,

would be the utmost that an unfortified city could resist, and he waited to besiege it. The approaches were occupied—the pipes which carried water into the city were cut—cannon, small, probably, and ill-served, were fired incessantly upon the houses—the gates were undermined, and a continual correspondence was maintained between the rebels and the disaffected party among the citizens, which gained strength as the provisions began to run low. So daring and so violent became the Catholics at last, that they met in arms at the Guildhall to insist on a capitulation; 'Richard Tailor, a clothier, drew his bow and shot an arrow' at some reforming zealot; and they paraded the streets in procession crying out, 'Come out, you heretics; where be these two-penny bookmen; by God's wounds and blood, we will not be penned in to serve their turn; we will go out and have in our neighbours; they be honest and good men.' Nevertheless, the mayor persevered. A hundred of the principal householders agreed to stand by him to the last, and by skill and steadiness he kept the peace. The conduits were well supplied, and the summer was happily wet. A rate was levied for the support of the poor, which rose as prices rose; and so long as there was food within the walls, even the prisoners in the gaol received their fair share with the rest. Skirmishing parties occasionally swept in droves of cattle from the adjoining meadows by sudden sallies. As the rebels mined, the citizens countermined. Where the assailants were suspected to be at work, an adroit engineer detected their presence under-ground by the vibration

of a pan of water above their heads, and they were blown up or drowned in their holes.

A blockaded town, however, could not resist for ever. The mayor held on for six weeks; he then felt that he had done his utmost, and he had made up his mind with his friends to cut his way through the besiegers and escape, when news came that relief was at hand.

Russell had been stationary at Honiton from the middle of June to the middle of July. In the last fortnight rumours came from day to day that the city was taken, that Arundel was advancing, that Wiltshire had risen in his rear. Being at last almost alone, he was retiring in despair, and had reached Sherborne, when Carew, returning from London, brought the welcome information of the advance of Lord Grey. With revived spirits, Russell now raised money among the merchants at Bristol and Taunton. The Carews collected their tenants, stirred the gentlemen of Dorsetshire, and brought together a few companies of horse. The promise of action of some kind put an end to the paralysis which had been caused by the apathy of the Protector, and the waverers and the timid came forward with their services.

Honiton was made again the rallying point; and a tolerable force was soon in arms there. As soon as Grey should come, the intention was to go forward immediately and fight a battle under the walls of Exeter. The rebels, however, were by this time conscious that they were losing their opportunity. Hearing of Rus-

sell's return and of his expected reinforcements, they determined to anticipate his attack. On the 27th of July scouts brought in information that a body of Cornishmen were three miles off at Fenington Bridge. Their numbers were increasing, and they might be hourly looked for at Honiton. A council of war was held; when Sir Peter, as usual, was for an instant fight. His advice was taken: with as many men as he could bring together, Russell went in search of the enemy, whom he found to the number of a few hundred encamped in a meadow across the water below the bridge, waiting for a fresh detachment which had not yet arrived.

A few trees formed a barricade at the bridge, which was defended by a party of archers and matchlock men. The Carews, ever foremost, leapt their horses over the fence, and, after some hard fighting, in which Sir Gawen was shot through the arm, the road was cleared. Lord Russell passed over, and the skirmish became general. The Cornish at last giving way, discipline, as might be expected among such troops as Russell had with him, came to an end. They scattered, looking for spoil; and in this condition were caught by the second body of insurgents, who came up at the moment. They suffered severely; many were cut to pieces, the rest extricated themselves after a fierce struggle, rallied again, and finally drove the Cornish off the field, leaving three hundred of their number dead; but Russell's loss was perhaps as great as that of the rebels, and he returned to Honiton in haste, not without fear of being intercepted.

It was perhaps the report of this business which decided Blackhall on surrendering. But two or three days after, Grey finally arrived, bringing with him the Lanzknechts, three hundred Italian musketeers, and some tolerable artillery. Grey's whole force was not more than a thousand, but it was formed of professional soldiers who understood their business, and with them the advance must at all hazards be ventured. Herbert with the Welsh was reported to be at no great distance, but Exeter was in extremity, and to lose it might be to lose everything.

August 3. On Saturday the 3rd of August, therefore, the little army marched out of Honiton. To avoid a battle where they could not choose their ground, they left the road, crossed the open hills behind Ottery St Mary, and in the evening of the same day were on the heath—or what was a heath in those days—above St Mary's Clyst, two miles from Topsham. Among the peasantry the irritation was justly turned to madness when they knew that foreign mercenaries were brought in to crush them. Never before had English rulers used the arms of strangers against English subjects; and no sooner were their columns in sight, than the villagers of Clyst rushed up in rage to fall upon them. One could wish that the better cause had found the better defenders. The half-armed Devonshire peasants were poorly matched against trained and disciplined troops. Few who went up the hill came back again; they fell in the summer gloaming, like stout-hearted, valiant men, for their hearths and altars; and Miles

Coverdale, translator of the Bible, and future Bishop of Exeter, preached a thanksgiving sermon among the bodies as they lay with stiffening limbs with their faces to the sky.

So far, however, Russell had encountered but straggling detachments or handfuls of exasperated labourers. He had keener work before him. As the preacher's last words died away, the shouts and cries of the gathering insurgents swayed through the night air. Too late for the skirmish, the force which had been watching the roads to intercept his advance was now swarming thick into Clyst, and before day broke six thousand resolute men were in the village under the hill. The odds of numbers were heavy, but at all risks a battle must be ventured.

Sunday morning at sunrise the trumpet sounded, and the King's troops were on the move. The advance was slow. Felled trees lay across the lanes, with trenches behind and between them. It was nine o'clock before the road was open into the village; when the English horse, led by Sir William Francis, pushed on, followed close by Russell and Grey. The main body of the rebels were drawn up on the village green. As they came in sight, the horse went at them at a gallop, to break their ranks in the first rush; but the houses and walls on each side were lined with archers, whose arrows told fatally at close quarters. At the back of the village there was a thick furze brake, from which Sir Thomas Pomeroy started out unlooked for, and fell upon the Lanzknechts; and, believing them- August 4.

selves surrounded, Germans, Italians, English, all in confusion together, fell back, and were driven in panic up the hill to their camp. Every foreigner who fell out of rank was instantly killed. 'Abhorred of our party,' says Hooker, who was present, 'they were nothing favoured of the other;' and the chase was so hot, that Russell's cannon, ammunition-waggons, shot, powder, were taken and carried off into Clyst.

For the moment all seemed lost, but the troops rallied on the heath, and again charged, and the insurgents in turn recoiled. The fight rolled down once more into the village, and this time the houses were set on fire, and the archers driven from their covers. The horse a second time attempted to ride down the people. Francis was killed, and the struggle was long and obstinate; but the fire and the smoke, and the Italian muskets, gave the victory to Russell, and, once broken, the rebels scattered in all directions. The river towards Exeter, which runs up from Topsham, was by this time filled with the tide. Some were cut down on the waterside, some were drowned in attempting to cross, some were burnt in the village; altogether a thousand were killed, besides an unknown number who surrendered.

The bridge was still in the insurgents' hands. They had cannon upon it, and it could not be taken in front without loss; but a party of Grey's horse found a ford where they could cross, and, dashing through the water, came on the gunners from behind and sabred them. The road was then cleared, and Grey himself went forward to a rising ground which commanded the scene

through which they had fought their way. Seeing, or believing that he saw, parties of the enemy again collecting in force in the rear, he sent word to Russell to be on his guard; and as a precaution which the peril of so small an army might have seemed to justify, the prisoners were put to the sword.[1] But so long as daylight continued, there was no further attack. The foot followed the horse over the water and encamped.

In the night they were fired on from the hills. The next day, Monday, there was again a battle, and Grey, who had led the charge on the Scotch infantry at Musselburgh, said that 'such was the valour and the stoutness of the men, that he never, in all the wars he had been in, did know the like.' But the disproportion of numbers seems to have been less than before. Russell on this occasion was able to surround the enemy and prevent their retreat, and the fight ended in a general massacre. August 5.

The danger was now over. Monday night the army rested at Topsham; on Tuesday morning, August the 6th, the red dragon was floating on the walls of Exeter, the city was open, and the lean faces of the inhabitants were lighted with hopes of food. The rebels were gone. The same day Sir William Herbert came up with a thousand Welsh mountaineers, 'too late for the work, but soon enough for the play,' 'for the whole country was put to the spoil, and every soldier fought August 6.

[1] Hooker, an eye-witness, is the unexceptionable authority for this savage incident. The revenge of the Italians and Germans was perhaps in some way connected with it.

for his best profit.' The services of the mountain cattle-lifters were made valuable to Exeter; for the city, 'being destitute of victuals,' was, 'by their special industry, provided in two days.' An order of council had fixed the wages of the horse employed on this service at tenpence a day, and those of the foot at the usual sixpence, sufficient for their necessities without granting them license of pillage; but it was desired to impress on the country the consequences of insurrection: spoil kept the foreign troops in good humour; and the promise of wages was not always the payment of them.

The ill-treatment of the people, however, served to keep alive bad feeling; and the Cornish falling back towards Dartmoor, made a stand when beyond the risk of immediate attack. Arundel, Pomeroy, Underhill, and others of the leaders held together, and in a few days news came that some thousand of the insurgents were still in arms at Sampford Courtenay. The fire was extinguished at the scene where it was first kindled. The battle which finally gave peace and reformation to the western counties, may be described in the despatch of Lord Russell himself:—

August 15. 'On Friday, August 15,' he reported, 'we marched from Exeter to Crediton, seven miles off. The way was very cumbrous, and therefore that day we went no further. On Saturday we marched towards the camp at Sampford Courtenay, and by the way our scouts and the rebel scouts encountered upon the

August 17. Sunday on the sudden; and in a skirmish between them was one Maunders taken, who was

one of their chief captains. Order was given to my Lord Grey and to Mr Herbert, for the winning of time, to take a good part of the army, and with the same to make with all diligence possible towards the said camp, to view and see what service might be done for the invasion thereof. They found the rebels strongly encamped, as well by the seat of the ground as by the entrenching of the same. They kept them in play with great ordnance till more convenient way was made by the pioneers; which done, they were assaulted with good courage—on the one side with our footmen, on the other with the Italian harquebutters, in such sort as it was not long before they turned their backs and recovered the town which they before had fortified for all events. While this was doing, and I was yet behind with the residue of the army conducting the carriage, Humfrey Arundel with his whole power came on the backs of our forewards, being thus busied with the assault of the camp. The sudden show of whom wrought such fear in the hearts of our men, as we wished our powers a great deal more, not without cause; in remedy whereof the Lord Grey was forced to leave Mr Herbert at the enterprise against the camp, and to retire to our last horsemen and footmen, whom he caused to turn their faces to the enemies in the show of battle.

'Against Arundel was nothing for one hour but shooting of ordnance to and fro. Mr Herbert in the mean time followed the first attempt, who, pressing still upon them, never breathed till he had driven them to a plain fight. To the chase came fresh horsemen and

footmen; in the which were slain five or six hundred of the rebels, and among them was slain Underhill who had charge of that camp. At the retire of our men I arrived, and because it waxed late I thought good to lose no time, but appointed Sir Wm. Herbert and Mr Kingston with their footmen and horsemen to set on the one side, and my Lord Grey to set on their faces, and I with my company to come on the other side. Upon the sight whereof the rebels' stomachs so fell from them, as without any blow they fled. The horsemen followed the chase, and slew to the number of 700, and took a far greater number. Great execution had followed, had not the night come on so fast.

'All this night we sat on horseback, and in morning we had word that Arundel was fled to Launceston, who immediately began to practise with the townsmen and the keepers of Greenfield[1] and other gentlemen for the murder of them that night. The keepers so much abhorred this cruelty as they immediately set the gentlemen at large, and gave them their aid with the help of the town for the apprehension of Arundel, whom, with four or five ringleaders, they have imprisoned. I have sent incontinently both Mr Carews with a good band to keep the town in a stay; and this morning I haste thither with the rest. We have taken 16 pieces of ordnance, some brass and some iron. Of our part there were many hurt, but not passing ten or twelve slain. The Lord Grey and Mr Herbert have

[1] Probably Greenfield of Stowe and Bideford, brother or uncle of John the Privateer, and father of the famous Sir Richard

served notably. Every gentleman and captain did their work so well as I wot not whom first to commend.'[1]

In the break up at Sampford Courtenay, a party of the insurgents with Coffin made towards Somersetshire. These were cut to pieces at Kingsweston, and Coffin was taken. In all, since the beginning of the month, four thousand of the western men, rather more than less, Hooker says, had been killed in action. It remained to punish more formally those who had been peculiarly guilty. Pressed as the council found themselves on all sides, severity was natural and pardonable. Those who excite rebellion against established governments, be their cause good or be it ill, go to their work with the certainty that they must succeed or die; and on the whole it is good for society that the rule should be recognized and observed. Arundel and three others were hanged at Tyburn. Martial law was proclaimed through Cornwall and Devonshire, and the gibbet did its business freely, although in the latter county, according to Hooker, care was taken to distinguish the really guilty. In Cornwall, if we may believe the legends of the next generation, Sir Anthony Kingston, who went as provost marshal, was not so scrupulous. A story was told of a miller who had been out with Arundel, and expecting inquiry, had persuaded a servant to take his place and name. 'Are you the miller?' said Kingston, riding one day to his door. 'If you please, yes,' was the unsuspecting answer.

[1] Russell to the Council: *MS. Harleian*, 523.

'Up with him,' said the provost marshal. 'He is a busy knave, hang him up.' In vain the poor man called out then that he was no miller, but an innocent servant. 'Thou art a false knave, then,' said Sir Anthony, 'to be in two tales, therefore hang him;' 'and he was hanged incontinently.' The Mayor of Bodmin had been among the first to move; his name was joined to Arundel's in the rebels' articles, but his friends had interceded for him, and he had hoped for pardon. Kingston visited Bodmin in his progress, and sent the mayor notice that he would dine with him. He had a man to hang, too, he said, and a stout gallows must be ready. The dinner was duly eaten, and the gallows prepared. 'Think you,' said Kingston, as they stood looking at it; 'think you it is strong enough?' 'Yea, sir,' quoth the mayor, 'it is.' 'Well, then,' said Sir Anthony, 'get you up, for it is for you.' The mayor, 'greatly abashed,' exclaimed and protested. 'Sir,' said Kingston, 'there is no remedy, ye have been a busy rebel, and this is appointed for your reward;' and so, 'without respite or stay, the mayor was hanged.'[1]

These were stories told by the children of the sufferers to their grandchildren. Had Kingston's reports survived, the account would perhaps have been different. He was a young, high-spirited, and, in some respects, noble sort of person, a friend of Hooper the martyr.

An execution at Exeter is more authentic and more characteristic of this time. Prominent in the rebel

[1] HOLINSHED.

army was Welsh, the Vicar of St Thomas's; a parish through which the railroad passes by the river-side in front of the town. A worthy parish priest of the old type, Welsh was at once a good believing Catholic, a stout wrestler and cudgel-player, a famous shot with bow, crossbow, and handgun—'a good woodman and a hardy,' who had brought down in his day many a noble buck in the glens of Haldon, and levelled, it is likely, many a ranger from Powderham with his quarter-staff; 'such a one as would not give his head for the polling, nor his beard for the washing;' and withal 'very courteous and gentle of demeanour, and of honest parentage.'

This man for his sins had been a great hater of the Prayer-book, and a special doer in the siege. He had saved life more than once, but he had also taken life. 'One Kingsmill, a tanner of Chagford,' was taken by the rebels with a letter from the mayor to Lord Russell, and brought before him for judgment. The vicar laboured in his priestly calling to make his prisoner a rebel, and not succeeding, had hanged him on an elm-tree outside the west gate of the city. And now his own time was come. 'It was pity of him,' men thought, for he had fine gifts and a fine nature; but there was no help for it; Kingsmill's death lay at his door; a court-martial found it there; and he accepted his fate like a gentleman. A beam was run out from St Thomas's church tower, from which they swung him off into the air; and there Hooker saw him hanging in chains in 'his Popish apparel,' 'a holy-water bucket and sprinklers, a sacring bell, and a pair of

beads' dangling about his body; and there he hung till the clothes rotted away, and the carrion crows had pecked him into a skeleton; and down below in St Thomas's church order reigned, and a new vicar read the English liturgy.

The eastern counties had been the scene meanwhile of another insurrection scarcely less formidable.

July 6. On the 6th of July, four days after the commencement of the siege of Exeter, there was a gathering of the people for an annual festival at Wymondham, a few miles from Norwich. The crowd was large, and the men who were brought together found themselves possessed with one general feeling—a feeling of burning indignation at the un-English conduct of the gentlemen. The peasant, whose pigs, and cow, and poultry had been sold or had died, because the commons were gone where they had fed—the yeoman dispossessed of his farm—the farm servant out of employ, because where ten ploughs had turned the soil one shepherd now watched the grazing of the flocks—the artisan smarting under the famine prices which the change of culture had brought with it:—all these were united in suffering; while the gentlemen were doubling, trebling, quadrupling their incomes with their sheep-farms, and adorning their persons and their houses with splendour hitherto unknown.

The English commons were not a patient race. To them it was plain that the commonwealth was betrayed for the benefit of the few. The Protector, they knew, wished them well, but he could not right them for want

of power. They must redress their own wrongs with their own hands. The word went out for a rising; Robert Ket, a Wymondham tanner, took the lead; and far and wide round Norwich, out in the country, and over the border in Suffolk, the peasants spread in busy swarms cutting down park palings, driving deer, filling ditches, and levelling banks and hedges. A central camp was formed on Mousehold Hill, on the north of Norwich, where Ket established his head-quarters; and gradually as many as sixteen thousand men collected about him in a camp of turf huts roofed with boughs. In the middle of the common stood a large oak-tree, where Ket sat daily to administer justice; and there, day after day, the offending country gentlemen were brought up for trial, charged with robbing the poor. The tribunal was not a bloody one. Those who were found guilty were imprisoned in the camp. Occasionally some gentleman would be particularly obnoxious, and there would be a cry to hang him; but Ket allowed no murdering. About property he was not so scrupulous. Property acquired by enclosing the people's lands, in the code of these early communists, was theft, and ought to be confiscated. 'We,' their leaders proclaimed, 'the King's friends and deputies, do grant license to all men to provide and bring into the camp at Mousehold all manner of cattle and provision of victuals, in what place soever they may find the same, so that no violence or injury be done to any poor man, commanding all persons, as they tender the King's honour and Royal Majesty and the relief of the commonwealth, to be

obedient to us the governors whose names ensue.' To this order Ket's signature and fifty others were attached; and in virtue of a warrant which was liberally construed, the country houses over the whole neighbourhood were entered. Not only were sheep, cows, and poultry driven off, but guns, swords, pikes, lances, bows, were taken possession of in the name of the people. A common stock was formed at Mousehold, where the spoil was distributed; and to make up for past wants, they provided themselves, in the way of diet, so abundantly that, in the time which the camp lasted, twenty thousand sheep were consumed there, with 'infinite beefs,' swans, hinds, ducks, capons, pigs, and venison.

Considering the wild character of the assemblage, the order observed was remarkable. Chaplains were appointed, and morning and evening services—here not objected to—were regularly read. On the oak-tree, which was called the Oak of Reformation, there was placed a pulpit, where the clergy of the neighbourhood came from time to time, and were permitted without obstruction. to lecture the people upon submission. Among others, came Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who, 'mounting into the oak, advised them to leave off their enterprise,' or, if they refused, at all events not 'to waste their victuals,' nor 'to make the public good a pretext for private revenge.' The magistrates and other local authorities were powerless. In London, as we have seen, the Protector could not resolve on any distinct course of action. Of the

Norfolk insurgents he was believed distinctly to approve, and even to have been in private communication with their leaders.[1] For several weeks they were unmolested. The city of Norwich was free to them to come and go. The mayor himself, partly by compulsion, had sat with Ket as joint assessor under the oak, and had been obeyed when he advised moderation. The ultimate intention, so far as the people had formed an intention, was to give a lesson to the gentlemen and to reform the local abuses. They had no thought, like the western rebels, of moving on London, or moving anywhere. They were in permanent session on Mousehold Hill, and there they seemed likely to remain as long as there

[1] Before censuring Somerset for what he did not do, one ought to be able to judge what he was able to do; and before blaming his communications, one ought to know what they were. It is certain, however, that, when the insurrection was put down, he pardoned and dismissed many prisoners who were sent to London for trial. Ket himself was not punished till after the Duke's deposition from the Protectorate, and his leniency was approved and perhaps advised by Latimer. The following letter of Sir Anthony Aucher to Cecil, written on the 10th of September, shows the feeling with which the aristocratic party regarded both Latimer and Somerset:—

'Under pretence of simplicity there may rest much mischief, and so I fear there doth in these men called Commonwealths, and their adherents. To declare unto you the state of the gentlemen—I mean as well the greatest as the lowest—I assure you they are in such doubts that almost they dare touch none of them, not for that they are afraid of them, but for that some of them have been sent up and come away without punishment. And that Commonwealth, called Latimer, hath gotten the pardon of others, and so they speak manifestly, that I may well gather some of them to be in jealousy of my Lord's friendship; and, to be plain, think my Lord's Grace rather to will the decay of the gentlemen than otherwise. There was never none that ever spake as vilely as these called Commonwealths does.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office.

were sheep left to be eaten and landowners to be punished.

July 31. At last, on the 31st of July, a herald appeared at the oak, bidding all the people, in the King's name, depart to their houses, and for all that they had done promising, without exception, a free and entire pardon. The people shouted, God save the King. They had lived a month at free quarters, they had given a lesson to the gentlemen, who had seen that the Government could not protect them; the pardon was a sanction to their enterprise, which might now fitly end. Undoubtedly, had the rising terminated thus, the Commons would have gained what they desired. Ket, however, stood upon the word. 'Pardon,' he said, was for offenders, and they were no offenders, but good servants of the commonwealth.

The herald replied that he was a traitor, and offered to arrest him. The people thought they were betrayed, and in the midst of wild cries and uproar the mayor drew off into the town, taking the herald with him, and the gates were closed. This was taken at once as a declaration of war. A single night served for the preparations, and the next morning Norwich was assaulted. So fierce and resolute the people were, that boys and young lads pulled the arrows out of their flesh when wounded, and gave them to their own archers to return upon the citizens. After being repulsed again and again, a storming party at last made their way through the river over a weak spot in the walls, and the town was taken.

Regular armies under the circumstances of the now victorious rebels are not always to be restrained—an English mob was still able to be moderate. The Norwich citizens had not been oppressors of the poor, and plunder was neither permitted nor attempted. The guns and ammunition only were carried off to the camp. The herald attempted to address the people in the market-place, but they bade him begone. Such of the inhabitants as they suspected they detained as prisoners, and withdrew to their quarters.

By this time the council were moving. The Protector proposed at first to go himself into Norfolk;[1] but either he was distrusted by the others, or preferred to leave the odium of severe measures to them. Northampton was selected to lead; and it is to be noticed that no reliance could be placed on levies of troops raised in the ordinary way; Lord Sheffield, Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, and other members of the privy council, went with him; and their force was composed of the personal retinues of the lords and gentlemen, with a company of Italians.

The Norwich citizens, by this time alarmed at the humour of their neighbours, received them eagerly. Northampton took the command of the town, and the gates were again closed. The next morning the fighting recommenced, the Italians being first engaged; and an Italian officer being taken

August.

[1] *Cotton. MS. Vespasian*, F. 3.

prisoner, with the same national hatred of foreigners which appeared in Devonshire, he was carried up to Mousehold, stripped naked, and hung. The insurgents having the advantage, brought their cannon close to the walls. In the night, under cover of a heavy fire, they attempted an assault; and though they failed, and lost three hundred men, they fought so resolutely and desperately, that Northampton renewed the offer which had been sent by the herald of a free pardon.

But the blood of the Commons was now up for battle. They had formed larger views in the weakness of the Government. They replied that they had not taken up arms against the King, but they would save the commonwealth and the King from bad advisers, and they would do it or die in the quarrel. Again the next day they stormed up to the walls. Struck down on all sides, they pressed dauntlessly on; a hundred and forty fell dead on the ramparts, and then Ket forced his way into Norwich, a second time victorious. Sheffield was killed, Cornwallis was taken, Northampton and his other companions fled for their lives. In the confusion some buildings were set on fire, and as a punishment to the inhabitants for having taken part against them, the rebels this time plundered the houses of some of the more wealthy citizens. But they repented of having discredited their cause. The property which had been taken was made up afterwards in bundles and flung contemptuously into the shops of the owners.

Parallel to this misfortune came the news that Henry of France in person had at last entered the Boullonnaise,

and that there was a fresh rising in Yorkshire, to which Russell's success in Devonshire was the only counterpoise. It was characteristic of the administration of Somerset that, with half England in flames, and the other half disaffected, and now openly at war with the most powerful nation on the Continent, he was still meditating an invasion of Scotland. Of the Lanzknechts who had been brought over, some were in the west with Russell. The rest had been marched northwards under the command of the Earl of Warwick. But the defeat of Northampton made further perseverance in this direction impossible. Scotland was at last relinquished, left to itself or to France. Orders were sent to Rutland, who was at Berwick, to cross the Tweed with such force as he had with him, to level the works at Haddington, and, leaving there the bodies of thousands of men, and the hundreds of thousands of pounds which had been spent upon the fortifications, to bring off the garrison. Warwick's destination was changed to Norwich, where he was ordered to proceed without delay. The German troops were to follow him by forced marches.

Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was now passing into prominence; he was the son of Edward Dudley, who had been the instrument of the oppressions of Henry VII., who, on the accession of Henry VIII., had taken part in a treasonable attempt to secure the person of the young King, and had died on the scaffold. The faults of the father had not been visited on the son. John Dudley was employed early in the public service. He had distinguished himself as a soldier, a diplomatist, and

as an admiral. As Lord Lisle, a title given to him by Henry, he had commanded the English fleet at Spithead at the time of the French invasion of 1545, and he was second in command under Somerset at Musselburgh. Perfectly free from vague enthusiasm, in his faults and in his virtues he was alike distinguished from the Protector. Shrewd, silent, cunning, and plausible, he had avoided open collision with the uncle of the King; he had been employed on the northern Border, where he had done his own work skilfully; and if he had opposed Somerset's imprudent schemes, he had submitted, like the rest, as long as submission was possible. He had the art of gaining influence by affecting to disclaim a desire for it; and in his letters, of which many remain in the State Paper Office, there is a tone of studied moderation, a seeming disinterestedness, a thoughtful anxiety for others. With something of the reality, something of the affectation of high qualities, with great personal courage, and a coolness which never allowed him to be off his guard, he had a character well fitted to impose on others, because, first of all, it is likely that he had imposed upon himself.

The news of the change in his destination, and of the causes of it, reached him about the 10th of August at Warwick. He wrote immediately to Cecil to entreat that Northampton might remain in the chief command. 'Lord Northampton,' he said, 'by misfortune hath received discomfort enough, and haply this might give him occasion to think himself utterly discredited, and so for ever discourage him. I shall be as glad, for my

part, to join with him, yea, and with all my heart to serve under him, as I would be to have the whole authority myself. I would wish that no man, for one mischance or evil hap, to which all be subject, should be utterly abject.'[1] Without waiting for an answer, and leaving the Germans to follow, he hastened to Cambridge, whither Northampton had retired, taking with him his sons Lord Ambrose and Lord Robert, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Marmaduke Constable, and a few other gentlemen. Rallying the remains of Northampton's force, he made at once for Norfolk. He reached Wymondham on the 22nd of August; on the 23rd he was before the gates of Norwich; and for the third time Norroy Herald carried in the offer of a free pardon, with an intimation that it was made for the last time. Aug. 23.

Ket had at length learnt some degree of prudence, and was inclined to be satisfied with his success. He allowed the herald to read the proclamation in all parts of the town and camp, he himself standing at his side; and he had made up his mind to return with him and have an interview with Warwick, when an unlucky urchin who was present flung himself into an English attitude of impertinence, 'with words as unseemly as his gesture was filthy.'[2] Some one, perhaps a servant of the herald, levelled his harquebuse, and shot 'that ungracious boy through the body.' A cut with a whip might have been endured or approved; at the needless

[1] Warwick to Cecil: TYTLER, vol. i. p. 193.
[2] HOLINSHED.

murder shouts arose on all sides of treachery. In vain Ket attempted to appease the exasperation. He could not pacify the people, and he would not leave them. The herald retired from the city alone, and the chance of a bloodless termination of the rising was at an end.

The rebels, after the second capture of Norwich, had retained possession of it. Warwick instantly advanced. The gates were blown open, and he forced his way into the market-place, where sixty men, who were taken prisoners, were hanged on the spot. The insurgents, however, on their side, were not idle. A number of them, making the circuit of the walls, intercepted the ammunition waggons in the rear, and carried them off to Mousehold. The cannon were in front, and were placed at the north gate; but, with little or no powder, they were almost useless; and another party of the insurgents, with picked marksmen among them, charged up to the batteries, swept them clear of men by a well-aimed shot from a culverin, and carried off the guns in triumph.

August 24. Another storm of the city now seemed imminent. The force that Warwick had with him was the same which had been already defeated; a panic spread among them, and Warwick was urged to abandon the town—to retreat, and wait for reinforcements. But he knew that two days, at the furthest, would now bring them, and he would take the chances of the interval. Death, he said, was better than dishonour. He would not leave Norwich till he had either put down the rebellion or lost his life. But so immi-

nent appeared the peril at that moment, that he and the other knights and gentlemen drew their swords and kissed each other's blades, 'according to ancient custom used among men of war in times of great danger.'[1]

Happily for Warwick, the rebels did not instantly follow up their success, and in losing the moment they lost all. On the 25th the Germans came up, and he was safe. The next morning, by a side movement, he cut off the camp from their provisions. They were left 'with but water to drink, and fain to eat their meat without bread;'[2] and on the 27th the whole body, perhaps 15,000 strong, broke up from Household, set fire to their cabins, and, covered by the smoke, came down from their high ground into Duffindale.[3] They had made up their minds to fight a decisive action, and they chose a ground where all advantages of irregular levies against regular troops were lost. August 27.

On the morning of the 27th they were drawn up in open fields where Warwick could attack at his pleasure. Before the first shot was fired he sent Sir Thomas Palmer forward, not now to offer a general pardon, for

[1] Holinshed, writing from the report of eye-witnesses.

[2] Council to Wotton: *MS. French*, Edward VI. bundle 8.

[3] Relying, it was said, on a fantastic prophecy—

The country gruffs, Hob, Dick, and Hick,
With clubs and clouted shoon,
Shall fill up Duffindale with blood
Of slaughtered bodies soon.

The extent to which wild 'skimble skamble' prophecies had extended through England, and really affected men's conduct, forms at once one of the most peculiar features of the time, and one of the greatest difficulties in understanding it. In Wycherley's *Confession*, given above, it was said that Norfolk was rich in prophets, and several were known to be in Ket's camp.

he saw that success was in his hand, but excepting only one or two persons. The message was received with a shout of refusal. The rebels opened the action with a round from their cannon which struck down the royal standard; but never for a moment had they a chance of victory; the sustained fire of the Lanzknechts threw their dense and unorganized masses into rapid confusion. As they wavered, Warwick's horse were in the midst of them, and the fields were covered instantly with a scattered and flying crowd. Ket rode for his life, and for the time escaped; the rest fulfilled the misleading prophecy, and for three miles strewed Duffindale with their bodies: 3500 were cut down; one rarely hears of 'wounded,' on these occasions, except among the victors.[1] A few only stood their ground; and, seeing that flight was death, and that death was the worst they had to fear, determined to sell their lives dearly. They made a barricade of carts and waggons, and with some heavy guns in the midst of them, prepared to fight to the last. Warwick respected their courage, and offered them a pardon. They had an impression he had brought down a barrel full of ropes and halters, and that they were to be made over to the mercies of the gentlemen. They said they would submit if their lives were really to be spared; but they would 'rather die like men than be strangled at the pleasure of their enemies.' Warwick

[1] The council, in a letter to Doctor Wotton, at Paris, gives the number of killed at 'about a thousand.' — *French MSS.* bundle 8, State Paper Office. Holinshed, however, professed to have taken pains to inform himself exactly, and the council would, perhaps, make the least of an unfortunate business.

declined to parley. He brought up the Germans with levelled matchlocks, and they threw down their arms and surrendered. In this last party were some of the ringleaders of the movement. He was urged to make an example of them; but he insisted that he must keep his promise. Either from policy or from good feeling he was disinclined to severity. 'Pitying their case,' he said, 'that measure must be used in all things;' and when the fighting was over, the executions, considering the times and the provocation, were not numerous. Ket and his brother William were soon after taken and sent to London to be examined by the council. A gunner, two of the prophets, and six more were hanged on the Oak of Reformation; and from Sir Anthony Aucher's letter,[1] it appears that there were other prisoners whom the Protector released. In the autumn (but not till the change, which I shall presently describe, had taken place in the Government) the Kets were returned to their own county for punishment. Robert was hung in chains on Norwich Castle; William on the church tower at Wymondham. So ended the Norfolk rebellion, remarkable among other things for the order which was observed among the people during the seven weeks of lawlessness.

The rising in Yorkshire was at an end also, having from the first been of a less serious kind. There, too, a prophecy had gone abroad 'That there should no king reign in England; that the noblemen and gentlemen

[1] Supra.

should be destroyed; the realm to be ruled by four governors, to be elected by the commons holding a Parliament; the commotion to begin at the south and the north seas.'[1]

The south having risen, the north followed. At one time as many as three thousand men were in arms, and three or four gentlemen were murdered. But the force of the county was able and willing to keep the peace. The rioters were put down, and the leaders disposed of.

Thus with cost and difficulty internal peace was restored. But a success which involved the destruction of ten thousand brave Englishmen by the arms of foreigners, added little either to the credit or the popularity of the Government, while it had consumed the whole sum which had been voted by Parliament beyond the private advances of the council, and an unknown sum which was extracted in the course of the summer from the mint.[2] Abroad it was even more difficult to repair the consequences of Somerset's mistakes.

It has been mentioned that, at the beginning of the summer, Paget was sent to Flanders to make proposals to the Emperor for an alliance against France. Had the Protector been content to do one thing at a time—had he forborne from throwing England into confusion by precipitate changes in religion, it was probable that he might have succeeded, and France might have been forced to leave Boulogne, and restore the Queen of

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[1] HOLINSHED.

[2] Notices remain in the *Privy Council Register* of a thousand pounds to be spent in one place, eight thousand in another, and so on, of 'moneys growing of the mint.'

Scots. In Germany the Interim was not making progress. Duke Maurice, on whom Charles most depended, was encouraging his subjects in resistance;[1] while the Catholics were equally unmanageable, threatening excommunication, tyrannizing wherever they were strong enough, and clamouring to Charles to withdraw the few concessions which he had made.[2] In Italy the Pope, supported by France, still maintained the seceders to Bologna. Cardinal del Monte declared, and the French ambassadors echoed, that two-thirds of a council, with the consent of the Papal legate, might assuredly alter their place of session. If the Emperor was to dictate on a point of form, he would dictate next on a point of doctrine. The Pope took the same view. The Spanish bishops were remaining patiently at Trent. Paul imperiously commanded them to relinquish their schismatic and disobedient attitude, and rejoin their brethren.

But the Spanish bishops obeyed a stronger master. They received the message with becoming reverence.

[1] Litteræ Wittenbergâ allatæ sunt significantes conventum habitum omnium subditorum Mauritii et Augusti Ducum, in quo conventu post habitam deliberationem ipsum Mauritium concionatoribus accitis, ordinibus omnibus præsentibus denunciasse ut porro pergerent in suis ministeriis, populo veritatem ut hactenus prædicare, et sacramenta rite administrare; nec quicquam intermitterent quod ad veram pictatem facere et ad suum officium pertinere existiment. Sibi curæ futurum ut ab omni violentiâ tuti sint.—Metu populi a se defecturi ad religionem se componit et adsimulat, cum experiatur omnes abhorrere ab Interim recipiendo.—Mont to the Protector, June 15: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. bundle 1.

[2] Episcopi ubique locorum ubi potentiâ superant omnem pietatem exterminant. Multas turbas concitant et dira interminantur.—Ibid.

They regretted that they were obliged to entreat his Holiness to accept their excuses. His Holiness's summons to the council had invited them not to Bologna, but to Trent, as the spot the most opportune, on many grounds, for the settlement of religion. They were waiting, and would wait with meekness, till their brethren should return to them.[1] The Pope was obstinate. The bishops were obstinate. Paul now desired to have the council at Rome, and the sittings at Bologna came to an end; 'but the evil-omened phantom at Trent continued to draw to it the timid and anxious eyes of Christendom, like a fiery portent in the sky.'[2] Political complications, at the same time, combined more and more to unite the French and Papal interests against the Imperial. Gonzaga continued to hold Piacenza. Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, and son-in-law of the Emperor, in the hope, perhaps, of recovering his patrimony, was falling off from the Pope, who was his grandfather, and attaching his fortunes to Charles. The Pope, indignant at his disobedience, himself sent troops into Parma, and took possession of it. Farnese failing in an attempt to drive them out, applied to Gonzaga. Gonzaga told him that Parma should be his if he would hold it as a fief of the Empire, and Farnese inclined to consent.

The occupation of the duchy by an Imperial force would be accepted by France, it was well known, as a declaration of war. The Emperor had made up his

[1] PALLAVICINO. [2] Ibid.

mind, therefore, to accept the quarrel, and the advances of England were likely to be heard with favour. Paget was instructed to 'decypher the Emperour,' make out his intentions, and do his best to help the war forward. The almost forgotten proposal to give him Mary for a wife might be renewed; or else Mary, if he preferred it, might marry the Prince of Portugal, and in either case Boulogne might be made over with her as a marriage portion. At any rate, Boulogne might be comprehended as part of the English dominions in the treaty already existing, which bound England and the Emperor mutually to assist each other in case of invasion.[1]

At the outset of his embassy, Paget reported favourable progress. The Emperor, he said, must very soon be driven to war, and, for a corresponding advantage, might consent to take charge of Boulogne. In fact, he was sanguine of obtaining Charles's support on favourable terms when the insurrection in England began. Then at once all was changed. The Emperor, who, under no circumstances, would have connected himself with the English Government except for immediate convenience, saw at once that he would gain no strength by the alliance, and would only embarrass himself. In vain Paget was directed to make the least of the disturbances.[2] In vain he was told to affect indifference about Boulogne, and to hint that it might be convenient to relinquish it

July.

[1] Paget to the Protector, June 30: *MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

[2] Council to Paget, July 4: *MS.* Ibid.

to France. So accomplished a diplomatist as Paget could only despise the tricks which he was ordered to practice;[1] and the Emperor, too well informed of the state of England to be the dupe of a shallow artifice, broke off the negotiations abruptly.[2]

August. After so grave a failure, the step which prudence would have dictated would have been to do, in fact, what Paget had been told insincerely to suggest; that is, to come to terms with France, and give up Boulogne. Three years were already gone of the eight for which England was to keep it, and France would have acquiesced in some moderately favourable arrangement with respect to the debts for which it was held as security. If the Protector could not bring himself to part with it before the time, then, at least, he was bound to take care that it was adequately garrisoned. But he had allowed France to see that he considered himself as little bound to the letter of the treaty as themselves. Contrary to express stipulations, he had raised new forts outside the town, as well as at the mouth of the harbour. The neglect of engagements by the Court of Paris may reasonably have exempted the English from the strict observance of them;

[1] Paget to Petre, July 8: *MS.* Ibid.

[2] 'Alas, Mr Secretary, we must not think that heaven is here, but that we live in a world. It is a wonderful matter to hear what brutes run abroad here of your things at home, which killeth my heart to hear. And I wot not what to say to them, because I know them to be true. And they be so well known here in every man's mouth, as you know them at the Court, and I fear me better.'—Paget to Petre: *MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

but when the Protector had built his forts, he left them half-garrisoned and half-supplied, and to the repeated entreaties of the commanders he had returned only petulant and angry refusals.[1] Although warned of the intentions of the French Government, he left events to their natural course of disaster, and he had now to face the consequences of his complicated errors.

On the 20th of July the English ambassador had an interview with Henry to suggest the appointment of commissioners to settle disputes. 'The French King at that time did not only assent to the naming of the said commissioners, but further said he would continue his amity and friendship with the King's Majesty;' and as for war, he said, '*par la foye de gentilhomme* [on the honour of a gentleman], I will make none, but I will first give my good brother warning by word of mouth.'[2] Within a day or two of that interview, the resolution was taken to use the opportunity of the English rebellions. French troops at the very time were driving cattle on the Boulogne frontier, and on threat of reprisals, answered scornfully that 'for every bullock or

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[1] 'Also, after the report and declarations of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did survey Boulogne and the pieces there, you would never amend the same defaults. You would not suffer Newhaven and Blackness (two castles behind Boulogne) to be furnished with men and victuals, although you were advertised of the defaults therein by the captains of the same pieces and others, and were thereto advertised by the King's council.'—Articles against the Protector, printed by HOLINSHED. And compare a letter of Paget to the Protector, dated July 7: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. viii. State Paper Office.

[2] The Council to Sir Philip Hoby; *MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

sheep taken, wheresoever it was, they would take again of Englishmen twenty; and that for every man slain they would slay forty'—'an answer,' the English council exclaimed, 'of a tyrant or Turk, and not of a Christian prince.'[1] A fleet suddenly left the Seine at the beginning of August, and made a dash at Guernsey and Jersey. According to the French accounts, they were merely in pursuit of English privateers, which they encountered and half destroyed;[2] according to the English, they intended to surprise the islands, and met a serious defeat there.[3] Following up his first blow, Henry informed the ambassadors that he intended to be his own commissioner. He went down to Mottreul, where troops had been silently collected, and passed in person into the Boulonnaise. Besides Boulogne proper, the English had now five detached works in the adjoining district; one at Bullenberg, on the hill at the back of the town; another at Ambletue, where there was a tidal harbour; a third called Newhaven, at the mouth of the Boulogne river; a fourth, Blackness, a little inland; and the fifth and most important, on the high ground between Boulogne and Ambletue, called the Almain camp. This last was the key to the other four. The governor and the captain of the artillery

[1] The Council to Wotton: *MS. France*, bundle 8, State Paper Office.

[2] DE THOU, lib. vi.

[3] 'The French King, to take the King's Majesty unprovided, suddenly set forth an army to the sea, and with the same attempted to surprise the isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and such of his Majesty's ships as were there, and were beaten from them with small honour and no small loss of his men.'—Council to Wotton: *MS. France*, bundle 8, State Paper Office.

had been bribed, and on Henry's summons, surrendered on the spot. Ambletue, Newhaven, and Blackness fell one after the other in rapid succession. Bullenberg was thought by its commander, Sir Henry Palmer,[1] to be untenable when the rest were gone. He applied to the Governor of Boulogne, Lord Clinton, for leave to abandon it, and with Clinton's consent levelled the walls, blew up the castle, and withdrew with his men and guns into the town;[2] while Henry approached at leisure to Boulogne itself, to revenge, as was supposed, by an immediate assault, his night defeat when Dauphin by Lord Poynings. By this time, however, the season was growing late; the garrison was strengthened by the troops brought in from Bullenberg, and the vast batteries raised by Henry VIII. would perhaps enable Clinton to protract his defence into the winter. The capture of the forts gave the French the command of the country. No supplies of any kind could be introduced from England unless escorted by ships of war; and contenting himself with leaving galleys in Ambletue, and garrisons on all sides, which made the

[1] *Calais MSS.* State Paper Office.

[2] For which Sir Henry Palmer was degraded and Clinton received a reprimand. The home Government 'could not but marvel that they would assent, by their common agreement in council, to the abandoning and raising of the King's Majesty's fort of Bullenberg, upon the vague fear and faint-hearted hearsay of the captains and others of that fort, and without any apparent or imminent peril. They could not but be sorry to understand that Englishmen such as have had some experience of the wars, should be so faint-hearted that they durst not look their enemies in the face, but would, after such dishonourable sort, both forget their duties and give over his Majesty's pieces.' — The Council to Clinton: *Calais MSS.* State Paper Office.

blockade complete, the French King withdrew for a few months, well assured that, with the approaching spring, Boulogne must inevitably be his. Bullenberg cut the garrison off from the Boulonnaise. Their cattle were gone. They had neither wood nor turf for fuel, nor means of obtaining it. The entire population of the town depended on England for its daily supplies, which the Ambletue galleys were ever on the watch to seize.

September. The English council could not disguise from themselves the nature of the situation.[1] On their part they could only reply with a formal declaration of war. Their spirit had not sunk to a tacit endurance of invasion under the name of peace; they recalled their ambassadors; and, for 'their late manifold injuries, and also for that, contrary to honour, faith, and godliness, the French King had taken away the young Scottish Queen, the King's Majesty's espouse, by which marriage the realms of England and Scotland should have been united in perpetual peace,' 'they did intimate and declare him and all his subjects to be enemies of the King's Majesty of England.'

Such was the result of an administration of something less than three years by the Duke of Somerset. He had found the country at peace, recruiting itself after a long and exhausting war. The struggle which he had reopened had cost, with the commotions of the summer, almost a million and a half, when the regular revenue was but 300,000*l.*, and of that sum a third was

[1] The Council to Sir Philip Hoby: *MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

wasted on the expenses of the household. The confiscated church lands, intended to have been sold for public purposes, had been made away with, and the exchequer had been supplied by loans at interest of thirteen and fourteen per cent., and by a steadily maintained drain upon the currency. In return for the outlay, the Protector had to show Scotland utterly lost, the Imperial alliance trifled away, the people at home mutinous, a rebellion extinguished by foreign mercenaries in which ten thousand lives had been lost, the French conquests held by Henry VIII. as a guarantee for a repudiated debt on the point of being wrested from his hands, and of the two million crowns due for them, but a small fraction likely now to be forthcoming; finally, formal war, with its coming obligations and uncertainties.

The blame was not wholly his. The Protector's power was probably less than it seemed to be, and the ill-will and perhaps the rival schemes of others may have thwarted projects in themselves feasible. Yet it may be doubted whether, if he had been wholly free to pursue his own way, his blunders would not have been even more considerable; and by contemporary statesmen delicate allowances were not likely to be made for a ruler who had grasped at an authority which had not been intended for him, and had obtained it under conditions which he had violated. His intentions had been good, but there were so many of them, that he was betrayed by their very number. He was popular with the multitude, for he was the defender of the poor against the rich; but the magnificent weakness of his

character had aimed at achievements beyond his ability. He had attempted the work of a giant with the strength of a woman, and in his failures he was passionate and unmanageable; while the princely name and the princely splendour which he affected, the vast fortune which he had amassed amidst the ruin of the national finances, and the palace which was rising before the eyes of the world amidst the national defeats and misfortunes, combined to embitter the irritation with which the council regarded him.

In the presence, therefore, of the fruits of Somerset's bad management, it is idle to look for the causes of his deposition from power in private intrigue or personal ambition. Both intrigue and ambition there may have been; but, assuredly, the remaining executors of the will of Henry VIII. would have been as negligent as Somerset was incapable, if they had allowed the interests of the nation to remain any longer in his hands. He had been sworn to act in no matter of importance without their advice and consent; he had acted alone—he had not sought their advice, and he would not listen to their remonstrances, and the consequences were before them. Warwick, Southampton, Russell, Herbert, St John, Arundel, Paget, might possibly govern no better, but they had not failed as yet, and Somerset had failed. Their advice, if taken in time, would have saved Boulogne and perhaps prevented the rebellion; and whether others were fit or unfit, the existing state of England was a fatal testimony of the incapacity of the Protector. The council therefore resolved to interfere.

The motives which determined them they expressed for themselves in a memorandum which they thought well to lay before the Emperor.

'The late King,' they said, 'did constitute and appoint sixteen of his Highness's councillors, whom he especially trusted, his executors, and willed that those sixteen, using the advice of certain others appointed to assist them, should not only have the government of the King's Majesty's person during his tender years, but also the rule of the whole realm and the managing of all his Majesty's weighty affairs during the same time; which will, after the death of our said late master, was accepted and sworn unto by all the executors. The Duke of Somerset nevertheless, then Earl of Hertford, not contented with the place of Councillor whereunto he was called, sought by all the ways and means he could devise to rule, and in the end, for that he was one of the executors, uncle also to the King's Majesty by the mother's side, by much labour and such other means as he used, obtained to have the highest place in council,[1] and to have the title and name of Governor of his Majesty's most royal person and Protector of his Highness's realm and dominions—with this condition notwithstanding, that he should do nothing touching the October.

[1] In a rough draft of this memorandum among the council records, Somerset's election to the Protectorate is ascribed less absolutely to his own exertions. 'The Lords considering that it should be expedient to have one, as it were, a mouth for the rest, to whom all such as had to do with the whole body of the council might resort, after some consultation, chose by their common agreement the Duke of Somerset.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. ix. State Paper Office.

state of the affairs of his Highness without the advice of the rest of the council or the more part of them, which to perform he faithfully promised and swore in open council. And yet nevertheless he had been never so little while in that room, but, contrary to his said promise, he began to do things of most weight and importance, yea, all things in effect, by himself, without calling any of the council thereunto. And if for manners' sake he called any man, all was one, for he would order the matter as pleased himself, refusing to hear any man's reason but his own; and in short time became so haught and arrogant, that he sticked not in open council to taunt such of us as frankly spake their opinions in matters, so far beyond the limits of reason as is not to be declared. Which thing perceived, we did both all together openly, and every one of us or the more part of us apart, oftentimes gently exhort him to remember his promise; but all hath not prevailed. The success of his government hath been such as there is no true-hearted Englishmen that lamenteth not in his heart that ever he bare rule in the realm. As we have devised with him for the preservation of his Majesty's person and honour, so hath he, by continuing in his wilfulness and insolency, wrought the contrary, setting forth such proclamations and devices as whereby the commons of the realm have grown to such a liberty and boldness that they sticked not to rebel and rise in sundry places of the realm in great numbers, with such uproars and tumults, as not only the King's Majesty was in great danger, but also the realm brought to great trouble

and hindrance: of which tumults, as the said Duke was indeed the very original and beginning, so did he mind to use the like again, entertaining the most notablest captains and chiefest ringleaders of the said commotions with great gifts and rewards, and some also with annual livings,[1]—leaving in the mean time the King's Majesty's poor soldiers unpaid, and his Highness's pieces so unfurnished of men, munition, and money, as thereby hath not only ensued the loss of some of them already, but also Boulogne by that means, and the members about, remaineth at this present in very great danger.

'As for his government at home in other affairs, it hath been too ill to rehearse, for there fell no office of the King's Majesty's, but either he sold it for money, or else he bestowed the same upon one of his own servants, or else upon some other such as were of his faction, displacing sundry honest and grave ministers and officers of his Majesty's, putting in others such as he liked in their rooms; and, finally, so perverted the whole state of the realm as the laws and justice could have no place, being all matters ordered and ended by letters and commissions from himself contrary to our laws and against all order. And albeit by his occasion these troubles among us have been great, yet ceased he not in the midst of trouble and misery to build for himself in four

[1] I have not been able to obtain any clear details justifying these charges, but in the State correspondence of the month following the insurrection, there are repeated complaints of Somerset's supposed favour for the insurgents; and an accusation so specific I consider most likely to be true.

or five places most sumptuously without any respect or regard in the world, in such sort that, at length, when we saw that counsel could not prevail, and that his pride grew so fast, we thought we could suffer no longer, unless we would in effect consent with him in his naughty doings.'[1]

If allowance be made for passionate colouring and the tendency inevitable at such a time to visit on the leaders of a party the misdoings of dependents, this statement must be accepted as a not unfair account of the truth. Too honourable himself to stoop to corruption, the Duke of Somerset was profuse in his habits, and not too curious, probably, as to the conduct of the profligate adventurers who surrounded and flattered him, and in supplying his necessities took tenfold advantage to themselves.

At first the council had no intention of using violence. They intended to remonstrate in resolute language, 'and if they could by any means have brought him to reason, to avoid trouble and slander.'[2] It was the first week in October—Somerset was at Hampton Court with the King, having with him Cranmer, Paget, Cecil, Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir John Thynne. Lord Russell and Sir William Herbert were still in the west with the army. In London, of the original executors, were Warwick, St John, Southampton, Sir Edward North, and the two Wottons; with them were Rich, Lord Chancellor, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward

[1] *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. bundle 1, State Paper Office.
[2] Ibid.

Peckham, and Lord Arundel: members all of them of the council, which had been also appointed by the will of the late King.

The lords in London, as Warwick and the rest were called, had dined twice together for a private conference,[1] when the Protector learnt from some quarter that there was a design of interfering with him, and, with injudicious irritation, he resolved to treat them as traitors. The young King was persuaded that there was a conspiracy, nominally against the Protector, but really against himself.[2] A paper was written,[3] printed, and scattered about the streets of London, in which the privy council was described as 'but late from the dunghill,' 'a sort of them more meet to keep swine than to occupy the offices which they do occupy,' conspiring to the impoverishing and undoing of all the commons in the realm;' 'they had murdered the King's subjects,' and fearing that the Protector would compel a redress of the injuries under which the people suffered, had conspired to kill him first and then the King, and 'to plant again the doctrine of the devil and Antichrist of Rome.'[4] Somerset himself sent his son Lord Edward Seymour with letters in the King's name to Russell and Herbert, en- October 5.

[1] Draft of the Memorandum: *MS. Domestic*, vol. ix. State Paper Office.

[2] Directions to the King for a Letter to be addressed to the Lords: TYTLER, vol. i. p. 207.

[3] By some unknown hand. The signature is Henry A.: Ibid. p. 208.

[4] The writer seemed to fear that the authorities of the city would join with the lords. 'As for London, called Troy untrue,' the paper concludes, 'Merlin saith that 23 aldermen of hers shall lose their heads in one day, which God grant to be shortly.'

treating them to come to the rescue of the Crown from a conspiracy of villains with all the force which they could raise.[1] Inflammatory handbills were dispersed through the adjoining towns and villages calling on the peasantry to take arms for the Protector—the people's friend;[2] a commission was issued under the King's seal requiring all liege subjects to rise, 'and repair with harness and weapons to Hampton Court to defend the Crown.'[3] The corporation of London were commanded to arm and despatch a thousand men, and in a private letter Somerset ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to admit no member of the council within the gates.

These extraordinary measures were all taken in the first few days in October, before the lords had proceeded to any open act even of remonstrance. On the morn-

Sunday, October 6.

ing of the 6th, when the handbills, letters, and commissions were already sent out, the council, knowing nothing of any of them, met at Ely-

[1] *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. ix.

[2] 'Good people, in the name of God and King Edward, let us rise with all our power to defend him and the Lord Protector against certain lords and gentlemen and chief masters, who would depose the Lord Protector, and so endanger the King's royal person, because we, the poor commons, being injured by the extortions of gentlemen, had our pardon this year by the mercy of the King and the goodness of the Lord Protector, for whom let us fight, for he loveth all just and true gentlemen which do no extortion, and also the poor commonwealth of England.'—TYTLER, vol. i. p. 210.

[3] *MS. Domestic*, vol. ix. State Paper Office. At the bottom of the page is written, 'This is the true copy of the King's Majesty's commission, signed with his Majesty's seal and hand, and with the Lord Protector's Grace's sign.' The date is October 5. Mr Tytler has printed the Commission from another copy, dated October 1, which is a mistake.

place in Holborn, and after a final reconsideration of the state of the country, were mounting their horses to go to Hampton Court 'in a friendly manner, with their ordinary servants' only,[1] when Petre and some other gentlemen rode up to the gates to inquire, in the Protector's name, for what purpose they were breaking the peace of the country, and to warn them that, if they went to the Court, they would be arrested as traitors.[2] The same morning five hundred of the Duke's men had been furnished with harness from the royal armoury, besides the usual guard, and the palace gates were barricaded.

Petre, soon satisfied that the Protector was wrong and the lords were right, did not return, but remained and joined them. The rupture was made known to the world the same day by the issue of the Duke's commission; and Shrewsbury, Sussex, Wentworth, Mr

[1] *Privy Council Register*, Edward VI. *MS.* The Protector's party said that they were going armed to seize his person.

[2] There is some difficulty about the terms of Petre's message. Part, perhaps, was his own information; part the message he was entrusted to give. Edward, in his *Journal*, says that Sir William Petre 'was sent to know for what cause the lords had gathered their powers together, and if they meant to talk with the Protector, they should come in a peaceable manner.' The Protector, in a letter written the following day, said that he had 'sent Mr Petre with such a message, as whereby might have ensued the surety of his Majesty's person, the preservation of his realm and subjects.' The *Privy Council Register* says: 'As they were ready to have mounted upon their horses they were certainly advertised, as well by credible reports of divers gentlemen as by letters subscribed by the hand of the said Lord Protector, that he, having some intelligence of their lordships' intents, had suddenly raised a power of the commons to the intent, if their lordships had come, to have destroyed them.'

Justice Montague, and Sir Ralph Sadler, who were in London, took their places by the side of the council in support of the remonstrance. The Lord Mayor was summoned, and charged on his allegiance to send no men to Hampton Court. Circulars were despatched into the neighbouring counties, explaining the real circumstances, and charging the magistrates to keep the peace. The lieutenant of the Tower was required to surrender his charge, and complied without resistance. So passed the day in London.

At Hampton Court the Protector waited anxiously for his messenger. His proclamation had brought together a vast crowd of people, but as much, it seemed, from curiosity, as from any warmer feeling towards himself. The outer quadrangle was thronged with armed men, and as evening fell, by the glare of torchlight, Edward was brought down across the court and made to say to them—'Good people, I pray you be good to us and to our uncle.' The Protector himself then addressed them wildly, passionately, hysterically. 'He would not fall alone,' he said. 'If he was destroyed, the King would be destroyed—kingdom, commonwealth, all would perish together.'[1] The people listened, but he failed to rouse them to enthusiasm—chiefly, perhaps, because he was saying what was not true. His words fell dead; men might feel for him, but they would not rise into insurrection for him. Petre, meanwhile, did not come back, and friends brought in dis-

[1] Papers relating to the Protector: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. ix. State Paper Office.

heartening news from London. After measures so rash as those which he had ventured, Hampton Court seemed dangerous; and at once, in the darkness, he called to horse, to be off in the dead of the night to Windsor. Edward was suffering from a cough, but there was no remedy, he must follow his uncle; and there was haste and scurry, armour clanking, servants rushing to and fro, the flashing of lights, and the tramp of horses; in the midst of the confusion, the Duchess of Somerset, fearing how matters might go, gathered up her jewels, and with some few clothes violently crammed together, escaped across the garden to a barge, and dropped down the stream to Kew.

The Court reached Windsor before dawn in the autumn morning. The castle was unprovided with ordinary necessaries, and the King's weak chest suffered heavily from the wild careless ride.[1] The Archbishop, who would not leave Edward, was with the party; and Paget, the truest friend that Somerset had, who had so often warned him in vain, remained now at his side, to watch over him and prevent his rashness from compromising him fatally.

The council, hearing in the morning of this last unadvised movement, despatched waggons to the castle with supplies of food and furniture,[2] and at the same time wrote to the King to say that they had received Sir William Petre's message, that they were sorry he should doubt their fidelity, and

October 7.

[1] Paget to the Council: *MS. Domestic*, vol. ix. State Paper Office.

[2] *Council Register MS.*

that their only desire was for an improvement in the administration. They had endeavoured again and again by gentle means to check the extravagances of the Duke of Somerset; and their supposed conspiracy was no more than a resolution to discharge the duty which his father's will had laid upon them, and to remonstrate more effectually. By the same messenger they sent a letter to Paget and Cranmer, protesting against the attitude which the Protector had assumed towards them, as likely to lead to dangerous consequences. They had intended nothing but to give advice, and, if necessary, to press their advice; and if he would now dismiss the force which he had called out, they were prepared to settle their differences with him quietly. Both Sir William Paget and the Archbishop, however, must be aware of the danger of the course on which the Protector seemed to have entered, and they desired them as they valued their duties, to use their influence for the safety of the commonwealth.[1] At the same time they sent a courier to Herbert and Russell with explanations, and took fresh steps to prevent Somerset's proclamation for raising the country from taking effect.

The yeomen of the guard were marched to Windsor, 'the lords fearing the rage of the people, so little quieted;'[1] and the Protector had nothing to fear, could he bring himself to relinquish the power which he had misused. The distracted state of mind into which he had fallen is curiously indicated in the letters and manifestoes

[1] The Council to the Lords at Windsor: ELLIS, 1st series, vol. ii.
[2] KING EDWARD'S *Journal*.

which he continued to issue, and which are full of erasures, corrections, and after-thoughts.[1] Possibly he might have acted more wisely, could he but have shaken off the ill-omened crew whose fortunes would change with his own. Letters between himself and the lords crossed and recrossed on the road. On the same 7th of October, before the letter of the council to the King was brought in, the Duke had written to them a second time, apparently wavering. If they chose to press matters against him to extremity, he said he was prepared to encounter them. If they could agree to reasonable conditions, and intended no injury to the King, he would make no more difficulties. In the evening the messenger came in from London; and the next morning, October 8, Sir Philip Hoby, who had come to Windsor, returned with the King's answer, dictated probably by Somerset, a private letter of Somerset himself to Warwick, and another to the council from Paget and Cranmer. October 8.

The first was moderate, apologetic, and intercessory. It admitted that the Protector had been indiscreet, but all men had faults, and faults could be forgiven. Sir Philip Hoby would explain what could not be so readily written; but in mean time a list of articles was enclosed, which Somerset had signed, containing a declaration that he had not intended, and did not intend, any hurt to the lords; that if any two of them would come to Windsor, and state their wishes to two

[1] In the handwriting of Sir Thomas Smith, who was acting as his secretary.—*MS. Domestic*, vol. ix.

other noblemen to be named by the King, he would submit to any terms which, after discussion, should be resolved upon, whatever those might be.[1] In the letter to Warwick the Duke declared before God that he had meant no harm to him; nor could he believe that Warwick had desired to injure himself. They had been old friends, and he appealed to his heart to remember it.[2] Paget and the Archbishop wrote in the same tone. They evidently felt that the Protector had added seriously to the danger of his position by his appeal to the commons. He was willing, they said, to resign his office, but he could not place himself in the councils' hands unconditionally. Life was sweet, and they must not press him too hard.[3] Finally, Sir Thomas Smith added another letter to Petre. The Protector had yielded to the persuasion of his friends, and would refuse no reasonable terms. He would relinquish office, dignity, everything they might require. He only begged for his life. Such an offer ought not to be rejected, 'nor the realm be made in one year a double tragedy and a lamentable spoil, and a scorning stock of the world.'[4]

When the Protector was one day inviting the nation to take arms for him, and the next was begging for his life, the causes of his alternate moods cannot be accurately traced. On the 8th of October, before Hoby's arrival, a meeting had been held at the Guild-

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[1] The King to the Lords, October 8: TYTLER, vol. i. p. 220. Articles signed by the Protector: BURNET'S *Collectanea.*

[2] The Protector to Warwick, October 8: STOW.

[3] TYTLER, vol. i. p. 223.

[4] Ibid. p. 228.

hall, where the lords a second time explained their conduct. They assured the City that they had no thought of undoing the Reformation, or of altering the order of religion as now established. The next point of importance was the answer from Herbert and Russell, who had command of the army.

On learning from Lord Edward Seymour that the King's person was in danger, the generals had pushed forward by forced marches to Andover. There, however, letters reached them from the council; and the real danger to be feared was not, as they found, from a conspiracy of the lords, but from a fresh insurrection of the commons on the invitation of Somerset. They halted, sent back to Bristol for cannon, called about them the gentlemen of Hampshire and Wiltshire, and charged them on their lives to put down all assemblies of the people. The proclamations were telling in all directions. 'The country was in such a roar that no man wist what to do.' Barely in time to prevent a general rising, they fell back on Wilton, where the peril was most threatening, and sent Lord Edward again to his father with the following answer:—

Please it your Grace,

We have received your letter not without great lamentation and sorrow, to perceive the civil dissension which has happened between your Grace and the nobility. A greater plague could not be sent into this realm from God, being the next way to make us of conquerors slaves, and to induce upon us an universal

calamity and thraldom, which we pray God so to hold his holy hand over us as we may never see it. And for answer this is to signify that so long as we thought that the nobility presently assembled had conspired against the King's Majesty's person, so long we came forward with such company as we have for the surety of his Highness as appertaineth. And now having this day received advertisement from the lords, whereby it is given us to understand that no hurt or displeasure is meant towards the King's Majesty, and as it doth plainly appear unto us that they are his Highness's most true and loving subjects, meaning no otherwise than as to their duties of allegiance may appertain; so in conclusion it doth also appear unto us that this great extremity proceedeth only upon private causes between your Grace and them. We have, therefore, thought most convenient, in the heat of this broil, to levy as great a power as we may, as well for the surety of the King's Majesty's person, as also for the preservation of the state of the realm; which, whilst this contention endureth by faction between your Grace and them, may be in much peril and danger.

We are out of doubt, the devil hath not so enchanted nor abused their wits as they would consent to anything prejudicial and hurtful to the King's most noble person, upon whose surety and preservation, as they well know, the state of the realm doth only depend;[1] and having

[1] An expression with more meaning than shows on the surface. Among the divisions in England, loyalty to the reigning sovereign was the one sentiment on which all parties were agreed. With the glare

consideration of their honour, discretions, and continued truth unto the Crown, we believe the same so assuredly as no other argument may dissuade us from the contrary. And for our own parts we trust your Grace doubteth not but that as we have, and will, and must have a special regard and consideration of our duties of allegiance unto the King's Majesty, so shall we not be negligent to do our parts like faithful subjects, for the surety of his Highness accordingly, beseeching your Grace that his Majesty in anywise be put in no fear; and that your Grace would so conform yourself as these private causes redound not to an universal displeasure of the whole realm.

Would God all means were used rather than any blood be shed; which, if it be once attempted, and the case brought to that misery that the hands of the nobility be once polluted with each other's blood, the quarrel once begun will never have an end till the realm be descended to that woeful calamity that all our posterity shall lament the chance. Your Grace's proclamations and billets sent abroad for the raising of the commons we mislike very much. The wicked and evil-disposed persons shall stir as well as the faithful subjects; and we and those other gentlemen who have served, and others of worship in these counties where the same have been published, do incur by these means much infamy, slander, and discredit.

Thus we end, beseeching Almighty God the matter

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of the wars of the Roses still visible so plainly, no question was permitted to be pressed to a point which touched the throne.

be so used as no effusion of blood may follow, and therewithal may be a surety of the King's Majesty and of the state of the realm.[1]

Somerset had shown ability as a general, and his courage in the field was unimpeachable; but in social and political life his tendency was ever to confound the imaginary and the real; to be extreme alike in his hopes and fears, and to govern himself rather by momentary emotion than by serious thought. He was like a woman in noble enthusiasms—like a woman in passionate sensibility: but he had the infirmity both of men and women whom fortune has spoilt; he could endure no disappointment, and a molehill in his path became a mountain. Thus an amicable intention of remonstrance he had construed into a conspiracy against the King—thus he believed that the council desired to murder him—thus, when his appeal to the country was likely to fail, he sunk into the extreme of despondency and submission; and now, when his son returned with the letter from the army, which, after his resolution to resign, need not have affected him, he fell again into a hysterical panic. Nothing so keenly irritates nervous excitement as the cold language of truth, and in the emphatic condemnation of his conduct, which he must have known to be just, he saw again gleaming before him the axe of the executioner. On

October 9. the Wednesday morning the council heard from Windsor that the yeomen of the guard

[1] TYTLER, vol. i. p. 216.

had been removed or disarmed; that the castle was held only by the Protector's servants in the royal uniform; that in 'a great presence' Somerset had declared that, 'if the lords intended his death, the King's Majesty should die before him, and if they intended to famish him, they should also famish his Majesty.'[1] The belief at the Court was that he meditated a second flight, and intended to carry the King to Wales, to Jersey, or to the Continent.

If, in his present humour, he attempted any such enterprise, his flight through the country with the King in his company would rekindle a universal conflagration. Sir Philip Hoby was sent back with an answer from the council to Edward. They repeated their assurances that they were acting only for the public good. They protested that they were not under the influence of personal jealousies. The Duke of Somerset, with the worst possible consequences to the country, had broken the engagement to which he had bound himself. They could not make conditions with him or appoint commissioners to treat with commissioners. He must disarm his followers, and consent to share with them the common position of a subject, as the late King had intended.[2]

October 10. To Cranmer and Paget the council wrote more imperiously. They were surprised, they said, and in the highest degree displeased, at the removal of the royal guard. They charged the Archbishop, as

[1] *Privy Council Records, MS.*

[2] The Council to the King: *MS. Domestic*, vol. ix. State Paper Office. Printed by BURNET.

he valued his duty to God and the country, to keep the King at Windsor, or he should answer for it at his uttermost peril. They had themselves stated to his Majesty the conditions to which the Protector must submit. There was no reason to fear that there would be any cruelty or needless severity. 'They minded to do none otherwise than they would be done unto, and that with as much moderation and favour as they honourably might.' Finally, they desired every one at Windsor to attend to the message which would be delivered by Sir Philip Hoby,[1] and

[1] Mr Tytler, who, in his tenderness for Somerset, represents him as the victim of an unprincipled intrigue, and scatters freely such epithets over his story as 'base,' 'villanous,' and 'treacherous,' says that Hoby had brought a secret message to Paget and Cranmer, which was 'none other than they must either forsake the Duke, lend themselves to the deceit about to be practised on him, and concur in measures for securing his person, or continue true to him and share his fate.' The unconditional submission which the council required, he considers was basely kept a secret; the object was to put the Protector off his guard, and then take him prisoner. Considering that, in the existing circumstances, setting aside the interests of the State, the truest kindness to Somerset was to prevent him from attempting the wild plans which he was meditating, there would have been nothing to deserve the epithets of false and treacherous, had the council sent such instructions, and had Paget and Cranmer acted on them. But the eagerness of Mr Tytler's sympathies has misled him. The message was delivered in open audience, and was addressed to Somerset as much as to them. 'The unconditional submission' was required in the letter to the King, and this letter was, by the especial order of the council, presented to the King in open Court, and read aloud. 'Sir Philip Hoby,' wrote Cranmer, Paget, and Sir Thomas Smith, on the 10th of October, to the council, 'hath, according to the charge given him by your lordships, presented your letter to the King's Majesty, in the presence of us and all the rest of his Majesty's good servants here, which was then read openly.' Sir Thomas Smith was Somerset's friend.

Had the Duke been put to death after the promise of kind treatment, there would have been ground for

which Hoby read aloud to the Duke, to whom with the rest it was addressed, in the presence of the Court.

'My lord, and my lords and masters of the council,' the message ran, 'my lords of the council have perused your letters, and perceived the King's Majesty's requests and yours, and have willed me to declare unto you again, that they do marvel much why you do so write unto them, as though they were the most cruel men in the world, and as though they sought nothing but blood and extremity. They say of their honour they do mean nothing less; and they bade me declare unto you from them, that, of their faith and honour, they do not intend, nor will hurt in any case the person of my lord the Duke, nor none of you all, nor take away any of his lands or goods, whom they do esteem and tender, as well as any of you, as they ought. They are not ignorant, no more than you, that he is the King's uncle. They do intend to preserve his honour as much as any of you would, nor mean not, nor purpose not, no manner hurt to him; but only to give order for the Protectorship, which hath not been so well ordered as they think it should have been; and to see that the King be better answered of his things, and the realm better governed for the King's Majesty. And for you, my lords and masters of the council, they will have you to keep your

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the charge of perfidy. But, inasmuch as the promise was observed, and in three months he was again a member of the council, it is hard to see what the crime was on which Mr Tytler lavishes his eloquence. It would be well if historians could bring themselves to believe that statesmen may be influenced, and at times have been influenced, by other feelings than personal ambition or rivalry.

rooms and places as you did before, and they will counsel with you for the better government of things.'

Then, turning to the Duke, Hoby went on, 'My lord, be not you afraid; I will lose this,' and he pointed to his neck, 'if you have any hurt; there is no such thing meant; and so they would have me tell you, and mark you well what I say.'

He then desired that the letter to the King and the other letters might be read, that there might be no room for suspicion; and when this was done, 'all thanked God and prayed for the lords;'[1] Paget fell on his knees at the Duke's feet; 'Oh, my lord,' he said, in tears, 'you see now what my lords be.'

The Protector seems to have still hesitated. The same day the council sat at the house of Lord St John, when it was intimated that Paget and the Archbishop had succeeded in restoring the yeomen of the guard. A hint had been sent by the former that it would be well if the Duke was placed under restraint,[2] the kindest thing which could be done for him. Sir Anthony Wingfield and Sir Anthony St Leger were charged with the council's thanks, to act on the hint if possible, and, at all events, to see that the Duke did not leave the castle before their own arrival.[3] Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynne, Edward Wolf, and Cecil were to be confined to their rooms.

Oct. 12. On Saturday, the lords went down in person. The King made no difficulty in receiving

[1] TYTLER, vol. i. p. 239. [2] ELLIS, 1st series, vol. ii. p. 175.
[3] *Privy Council Records, MS.*

them. His objections, had he made objections, would have gone for little; but he seems at no time to have felt strong personal attachment to his uncle. Sir Thomas Smith was expelled from the council, and with Stanhope, Thynne, and Wolf, 'the principal instruments that the Duke did use in the affairs of his ill government,' was sent to the Tower, where the Duke followed them on the ensuing Monday.

So ended the Protectorate. The November session of Parliament was approaching. The interval was spent in examining the public accounts, and remedying the more immediate and pressing disorders of the administration. On the 18th of October, 'the lords receiving daily advertisements, as well from the Borders against Scotland, as from Boulogne, Calais, Ireland, Scilly, Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and the Wight, of the misery that the poor soldiers were in for lack of payment of their wages; and besides, of an universal want, grown in the time of the late Protector—who, being continually called upon by the council for redress thereof, would not give place thereunto—of victual, armour, ordnance, and of all kinds of munition and furniture, did immediately give order for the supply thereof to all those places aforesaid.'[1]

The debts due to the Crown, and the more considerable debts due by the Crown, were inspected, with the disposition of the chantry lands, and of the other properties of all kinds which had passed through Somerset's

[1] *Privy Council Records, MS*

hands: it seemed as if at once a new leaf was to be turned over, and there was to be again an honest and economical Government.[1] In one direction only there was to be no present reform, and unfortunately in the worst and most especial plague of the commonwealth.

It has been mentioned that the Lords of the Council themselves provided funds for the suppression of the rebellion. They held themselves entitled to repayment,

[1] A loose paper of memoranda made by some one engaged in the inquiry shows how complicated the accounts must have been, and how inadequate are the existing data to decide on the character of Somerset's conduct.

'Touching the Duke of Somerset—

'1. The plate belonging to the late college of St Stephen's at Westminster, delivered into his hands.

'2. The rich copes, vestments, altar cloths, and hangings belonging to the same college, whereof the Duke had the best and Sir Ralph Vane the next.

'3. The Duke of Norfolk's stuff and jewels, delivered by Sir John Gates.

'4. The best of Sharington's stuffs and goods.

'5. The lead, stone, and stuff of Sion, Reading, and Glastonbury, of great value.

'6. The stallment of the King's alum, sold to certain merchants of London for fourteen or fifteen years, for which the Duke, Smith, and Thynne had among them 1400*l.*

'7. The thousand marks given by the city of London to the King's Majesty at his coronation.

'8. The customers' officers within England, for the which he had by Thynne's practice notable sums.

'9. The King's secret houses in Westminster, and other places wherein no man was privy but himself, half a year after the King's death.

'10. The gifts and exchanges past in his name since the King's death.

'11. It is thought that much land was conveyed by the Duke in trust, in the names of Thynne, Kellaway, Seymour, Berwick, Colthurst, and other his men, and that they have made assurances again of all to the Duke and his heirs, and it is thought that the said persons know best where all the evidences of his lands and his specialties do remain.

'12. The Duke's diet of eight hundred marks by the year, proceeded from the Augmentation Court.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. ix. State Paper Office.

and there are no longer means of testing the justice of their claims; but it is easier to give an opinion of the means by which those claims were satisfied. On the 28th of October a warrant was addressed to the Master of the Mint, setting forth that whereas the well-beloved Councillor Sir William Herbert, in suppression of the rebels, had not only spent the great part of his plate and substance, but also had borrowed for the same purpose great sums of money, for which he remained indebted—the officers of the mint might receive at his hands two thousand pounds weight in bullion in fine silver—the said bullion to be coined and printed into money current according to the established standard—the money so made to be delivered to the said Sir William Herbert, with all such profits as would otherwise have gone to the Crown after deducting the expenses of the coining.[1] The profit to Sir William Herbert, beyond the sum which he would have received as a bullion merchant for the 2000 lb. of silver, was 6709*l.* 19*s.*; and immediately afterwards the same privilege was extended to Warwick, Arundel, Southampton, Paget, Dorset, Russell, Northampton, for an equal sum to be raised by similar means. Sir Thomas Wentworth, Lord Wentworth, Sir Thomas Darcy were allowed to coin 2000 lb. between them; Huntingdon, Clinton, and Cobham, 1000 lb. each; and the Duchess

[1] *Harleian MSS.* 660. According to RUDING'S *Tables*, vol. i. p. 183, a pound of silver was coined, in the year 1549, into 7*l.* 4*s.*; of which the Crown, for seignorage and cost of minting, took 4*l.*, paying the merchant 3*l.* 4*s.*; but the seignorage varied from month to month, and so apparently did the cost and the materials of the alloys.

of Richmond 500 lb.[1] By this proceeding more than 150,000*l.* worth of base silver coin was thrown at once into circulation, deranging prices worse than ever, shaking the exchange, driving the gold out of the country, and producing its varied complications of disastrous consequences none the less certainly, because the council could excuse themselves from the straits to which the Protector's extravagances had reduced the public revenues, and because the theories of the financiers concealed from them the mischief which they were creating.

It is one of the first duties of a historian to enable the reader to distinguish between the general faults of an age and the special faults of individuals, for which they may be legitimately held responsible.

As an account of the extraordinary confusion to which the currency was reduced, by a long course of changes at home and abroad, I give the following address to the Council of Edward VI., from the *Harleian MSS.* 660. The date is probably 1551.

'Your humble suppliant, Humfrey Holt, pondering the great enormities growing of late unto this realm, by the greediness of a number of mer chants, with others, that have sought to call out for their private gainings the best of our moneys here made, and so hath transported the same into foreign realms, to the great decay and abasing of the same, by reason they be of so many divers and sundry standards in fineness, as well of the coins of gold as also of the silver moneys,—in consideration thereof, and to bring the said coins to one perfect and uniform standard, that all such culling might cease, and all men by the same be like benefitted,—I, your humble servant, have thought good to signify unto your honours, not only the rates and valuations of the same, but also which losses the King's Majesty hath and daily doth sustain, if remedy be not provided in that behalf.

'1. The old sovereigns, half-sovereigns, royalls, half-royalls and quarter-royalls, angels and half-angels, being 24 carats fine gold, are better than their current value after the moneys in Flanders, in every pound twenty

[1] The memoranda of this transaction form part of a long paper on the coinage in the handwriting of Sir Thomas Smith.—*Harleian MSS.* 660.

pence, and in every hundred pounds 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and in every thousand pounds 83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

'2. The sovereigns, half-sovereigns, angels, half-angels, and quarter-angels, being 23 carats fine gold, are better than the Flanders money, in every pound ten pence, in every hundred pounds 4*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*, in every thousand 42*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

'3. The old crowns and half-crowns of the first stamp or coin are better, both in weight and value, than the Flanders moneys, in every pound 6*s.* 3*d.*, in every hundred pounds 31*l.* 5*s.*, in every thousand 313*l.* 10*s.*

'4. The fourth coin of gold, being sovereigns, half-sovereigns, crowns, half-crowns, being 22 carats fine gold, are better than the current value after the moneys in Flanders, in every pound 3*s.*, in every hundred pounds 15*l.*, in every thousand 150*l.*

'5. The fifth coins of gold called sovereigns and half-sovereigns, crowns and half-crowns, being 20 carats fine, are better than their current value, in every pound sixteen pence, in every hundred pounds 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, in every thousand 56*l.* 13*s.*

'6. The sixth coins or moneys of gold, being sovereigns, half-sovereigns, crowns, half-crowns, called the polled heads, are better than the current value, in every pound four pence, in every hundred pounds 33*s.* 4*d.*, in every thousand 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

'7. The seventh, or last moneys of gold, being sovereigns, half-sovereigns, crowns and half-crowns, are better than their current value, in every pound two pence, in every hundred 16*s.* 8*d.*, in every thousand 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

'Item. Our new sterling money of silver, holding eleven oz. of fine silver, is better than their sterling money in Flanders, in every pound nineteen pence, in every hundred 7*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, in every thousand 79*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

'Item. The half-groat, called the old sterling, being current two pence the piece, makes the oz. two shillings, and the 12 oz. 24 shillings; and holding fine silver 10 oz. 18 dwts., at 5*s.* 5½*d.* the oz., makes 59*s.* 5*d.*, and are better than their current value, in every pound 28*s.* 4*d.*, and in every hundred pounds 141*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and in every thousand 1410*l.*

'Item. The half-groats with the gunholes, holding fine silver 9 oz. and 3 oz. of alloy, at 2 shillings the oz., makes the 12 oz. 24 shillings, the fine silver at 5*s.* 5½*d.* the oz., makes 49*s.* 1½*d.*, and so this coin is better than his current value in every pound 21 shillings, in every hundred pounds 105*l.*, and in every thousand 1050*l.*

'Item. The half-groats, called gunstone groats, holding fine silver 6 oz., and 6 oz. of alloy, at 2*s.* the oz., makes the 12 oz. 24 shillings, the fine silver at 5*s.* 5½*d.* the oz., makes 32*s.* 9*d.*, and so this coin is better than his current value, in every pound 7*s.* 3*d.*, in every hundred 36*l.* 5*s.*, in every thousand 362*l.* 10*s.*

'Item. There is one coin of half-groat, holding fine silver 4 oz. and 8 oz. of alloy, at 2*s.* the oz., makes the 12 oz. 24 shillings, and the fine silver 5*s.* 5½*d.* the oz., makes 21*s.* 10*d.*, and so is lost in every pound of his value two shillings, in every hundred pounds 10*l.*, in every thousand 100*l.*

'There is one coin of 6*d.* holding fine silver 8 oz. and 4 oz. of alloy, at 4*s.* the oz., makes the 12 oz. 48 shillings. The fine silver 5*s.* 5½*d.* the oz., makes 43*s.* 8*d.*, and so is lost of the current value of this coin in every pound two shillings, in every hundred pounds 10*l.*

'Item. There is one coin of 6*d.* holding fine silver 6 oz. and 6 oz. of alloy, at 3*s.* the oz., makes the 12 oz. 36*s.*, the fine silver at 5*s.* 5½*d.* the oz., makes 32*s.* 9*d.*, and so is lost in every pound in this coin two shillings, in every hundred pounds 10*l.*, and in every thousand 100*l.*

'Item. There is one coin of 6*d.* holding fine silver 3 oz. and 9 oz. of alloy, at 3*s.* the oz., makes the 12 oz. 36*s.*, the fine silver at 5*s.* 5½*d.*, makes 16*s.* 4½*d.*, and so is lost in every pound eleven shillings, in every hundred 55*l.*, and in every thousand 550*l.*

'Item. Our moneys or pence called the Rose pence, holding fine silver 4 oz. and 8 oz. of alloy, at 40*l.* the oz., makes the 12 oz. 40*s.*, the fine silver 5*s.* 5½*d.*, makes 21*s.* 10*d.*, and is lost of every pound of his current value 9*s.* 1*d.*, in every hundred pounds 46*l.* 5*s.*, in every thousand 462*l.* 10*s.*

'And so the worst of the said moneys doth buy and sell the best, and will, till all come to one uniform, and the prices of everything to run upon the worst of our moneys to the great decay of all things, which coins may be converted to one uniform after the moneys in Flanders to the King's Majesty's great advantage, and no loss to the commons in the converting of the same, and all things by the same to come to a clear price, and the true value of the coins to be perfectly known; which, if it be your honour's pleasure to license me to make thereof, I doubt not but it shall appear unto your honours worthy the exercise.'

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REFORMED ADMINISTRATION.

THE fall of the Protector was a signal for revived hope among the Catholics. Bonner, at the close of a process in which the forms of law were little observed, and the substance of justice not at all, was not only imprisoned, but had been in September deprived of his bishopric by a sentence of Cranmer. In times of religious and political convulsion, to be opposed to the party for the moment in power is itself a crime; and Bonner, sensual, insolent, and brutal, retained, nevertheless, the virtue of honesty. The See of London, therefore, had been required for more useful hands. But there was a general impression that the recovery of authority by the executors would now lead to a change of policy. In Oxford mass was again celebrated in the college chapels.[1] Both Bonner and Gardiner appealed against the oppression to which they had been subjected. The Bishop of Winchester, congratulating the council on their success and courage, entreated that his conduct

[1] Stumphius to Bullinger: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ.

might be again inquired into, and that he should not be confined any longer on the unauthorized warrant of a subject like himself. Those who had been active in Bonner's persecution anticipated unpleasant consequences to themselves. Hooper,[1] one of the most prominent among them, writing to Bullinger, said that, 'Should the Bishop be restored to his office, for himself he doubted not he would be restored to his Father in heaven.'[2] The Emperor shared the expectation, or so far considered the reaction possible, as to make it a condition of the alliance which the English council so much desired. He received the message sent him through Sir Thomas Cheyne graciously. He would make no promises without conditions, but he intimated that a return to orthodoxy would be rewarded by a return of his friendship.[3]

November.

There was a time, perhaps, when the direction which things would assume was uncertain. Southampton, Shrewsbury, and Arundel had taken part in the deposition of Somerset, the first and last being distinctly, the

[1] John Hooper, whose father, a yeoman perhaps, was still living in Somersetshire, had been brought up at Oxford. He had left England on the passing of the Six Articles' Bill, and had resided in Switzerland, where, as the friend of Bullinger, he had become a strong Genevan. On Edward's accession he came back to London, and was now rising rapidly into notoriety as a preacher.

[2] Hooper to Bullinger: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ.

[3] 'I shall pray you, after my hearty commendation to the King and council, to desire both him and them to have matters of religion first recommended, to the end we may be at length all of one opinion; till when, to speak plain unto you, I think I can neither so earnestly nor so thoroughly assist my good brother as my desire is.'—Cheyne to the Council: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. iii.

second moderately, Catholic; the Earl of Warwick himself was untroubled with religious convictions of any kind, and might take either side with equal unconscientiousness; and the executors, acting as a body, would have relapsed into the groove which Henry VIII. had marked for them. But equality of influence could not co-exist with inequality of power. The part which Warwick had taken in putting down the insurrection had given him for the moment the control of the position; and Warwick, whose single and peculiar study was the advancement of himself and his family, determined, it may be after some hesitation, to adhere to the party of which he could be the undisputed chief. Had he brought the conservatives into power, he must have released the Duke of Norfolk from the Tower, and Gardiner with him. Shrewsbury, Oxford, Rutland, Derby, the lords of the old blood, would have reappeared in public life; and in such a circle Lord Warwick must soon have sunk to the level of his birth. It was more tempting for him to lead those who had made their way into rank through the revolution, or had still their fortunes to make, than to sink into a satellite of the Howards, the Stanleys, and the Talbots.

Southampton, therefore, retired again into obscurity, and soon died. A charge of peculation was brought against Arundel, who was removed from his office of Lord Chamberlain, and fined 12,000*l.*,[1] and the petitions

[1] *Privy Council Records, MS.* 'Plucking down bolts and bars at Westminster, and giving away the King's stuff,' is the vague account which Edward gives in his journal of the charges against Arundel, which, however, he says that Arundel confessed.

of the imprisoned bishops remained unnoticed. Gardiner wrote a second time more formally, 'which the Lords took in good part, and laughed very merrily at, saying he had a pleasant head;'[1] but they preferred to leave him where he was. A third letter met the same neglect, written in a tone of dignified and large moderation, which would have earned some respect for Gardiner, had not he too, in his turn of authority, violated the principles to which he appealed.[2] Finally, he prepared a petition to Parliament, on its assembling in November, which the council would not permit to be presented.[3]

The measures brought forward by the Government in the session which followed close upon the change, left no doubt indeed that, with respect to religion, the

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[1] STOW.

[2] 'I renew my suit unto your lordships, instantly requiring you that I may be heard according to justice, and that with such speed as the delay of your audience give not occasion to such as be ignorant abroad of my matter, to think that your lordships allowed and approved the detaining of me here; which, without hearing my declaration, I trust ye will not, but will have such consideration of me as mine estate in the commonwealth, the passing of my former life among you, and other respects, do require; wherein you shall bind me, and do agreeably to your honour and justice, the free course whereof you have honourably taken upon you to make open to the realm without respect, which is the only establishment of all commonwealths. And therefore the zeal of him was allowed, that said, *Fiat justitia ruat mundus*, signifying, that by it the world is kept from falling indeed, although it might seem otherwise in some respects, and some trouble to arise in doing it. And this I write because in the late Lord Protector's time there was an insinuation made unto me, as though I was kept here by policy, which, with the violation of justice, never took good effect, as I doubt not of your wisdom you can and will consider and do accordingly.'—Gardiner to the Council: STOW.

[3] Report of the Proceedings against Gardiner: FOXE, vol. vi.

policy of the past three years would be continued and carried further.

A violent Act was passed against images and paintings in the face of the conservative opposition in the House of Lords.[1] No statues or figures of any kind were to remain in the parish churches except, as the statute scornfully said, 'the monumental figures of kings or nobles who had never been taken for saints;' and the Prayer-book being the only religious service necessary or tolerable—'antiphones, missals, scrayles, processionals, manuals, legends, portuyses, primers, in Latin or English, cowchers, journals, ordinals,' and similar books, were to be taken away, burnt, or otherwise destroyed.[2]

The other business of the session was not of particular consequence. A riot Act, not unnecessarily harsh, was a natural consequence of a summer of rebellion. The peculiar feature of it was that the privy council were placed under the protection of the high treason laws.[3] From experience of failure, the Slave Statute of the preceding session was repealed; the vagrancy Acts of Henry were restored, and labourers refusing to work were to be punished as vagabonds. The sick and aged were to be relieved in convenient cottages at the expense of their town or parish; children carried about begging were to be allotted as ap-

[1] Dissentients the Earl of Derby, Lords Morley, Stourton, Windsor, and Wharton; the Bishops of Durham, Lichfield, Carlisle, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester.—*Lords Journals*, 3 and 4 Edward VI.

[2] 3 and 4 Edward VI. cap. 10.

[3] Ibid. cap. 5.

prentices to any one who would bring them up in an honest calling, and the magistrates were to protect them from ill-usage.

Public morality was reported to be disordered. The sudden emancipation from the control of the Church courts had led to license, and both the religious parties desired alike a restoration of discipline. On the 14th of November the bishops presented a complaint in the House of Lords that their jurisdiction was despised and disobeyed, that they could cite no one and punish no one—they could not even compel those who were disinclined to appear in their places in church. The peers listened with regret,[1] and the prelates were invited to prepare a measure which would meet the necessity. After four days they produced something which to them was satisfactory, but it was found to savour too strongly of their ancient pretensions.[2] The motion led only to the reappointment of the commission of thirty-two, who were long before to have reformed the canon law; and the fruit of their exertions, when at last it seemed to have acquired vitality, dropped to the ground unripe. The time was passed when the English laity would submit their private conduct to ecclesiastical discipline, whether it was Catholic or whether it was Genevan.

1550. January. In the beginning of January an account was tendered to Parliament of the proceed-

[1] Non sine mærore.—*Lords Journals*, 3 and 4 Edward VI.

[2] Proceribus eo quod episcopi nimis sibi arrogare videbantur non placuit.—Ibid.

ings against the Duke of Somerset. The offences, the substance of which was contained in the letter to the Emperor, were drawn out into twenty-nine articles,[1] in which, after allowing for legal harshness of form, his errors were not exaggerated. A committee of council carried the articles to the Tower, where they were submitted to the Duke for signature. He made no difficulty, but threw himself on the mercy of the Crown; and the accusations, with his signature attached to them, were laid before the House of Lords on the 2nd of January. The Lords did not affect to doubt that the subscription was authentic, and had been freely given; but in a matter which might be used as a precedent, too great caution could not be observed, and the Earls of Bath and Northumberland, Lord Cobham and Lord Morley, with four bishops, went to the Tower to examine him in the name of the House. He pleaded guilty to each separate article. On the 14th of January he was deposed by Act of Parliament from the Protectorate, and sentenced to be deprived of estates which he had appropriated to the value of 2000*l.* a year. On the 6th of February he was released from confinement, giving a bond for his good behaviour, and being forbidden to approach the Court without permission.

Had the full penalty been enforced, it would scarcely have been severe. In three months, however, such of his lands as had not in the mean time been disposed of, were restored; Somerset himself returned to the privy

[1] Printed by Strow and by Foxe.

council; and the fortune which he still possessed enabled him to maintain a princely establishment. No English minister had ever descended against his will from so high a station with a fall so easy. Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Michael Stanhope were made to refund 3000*l.* each of public money which they had embezzled; Sir John Thynne as much as 6000*l.*

Before Parliament rose, Sir William Paget was called to the Upper House as Lord Paget of Beaudesert, Lord Russell was made Earl of Bedford, and Lord St John of Basing Earl of Wiltshire.

Meanwhile affairs at Boulogne approached a crisis. The Rhinegrave in January brought five thousand men between Boulogne and Calais. Huntingdon, Sir James Crofts, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Leonard Chamberlain carried reinforcements to the garrison almost as large. But on the part of England this display of force was continued only to avoid a dishonourable close to the now fast approaching siege. The drain of Boulogne on the exchequer was incessant and exhausting; and if reasonable terms could be obtained from France, the council had made up their minds to purchase them with a surrender. The first active move towards an arrangement came through an Italian resident at Paris. Antonio Guidotti, a Florentine merchant, offered himself as an instrument of communication, and was permitted to suggest, as a fitting close to the long quarrel, that, Mary Stuart being no longer accessible, an alliance might be effected for Edward with the Princess Elizabeth of France.

The Boulogne question, however, had first to be set at rest. Guidotti having passed and repassed between London and Paris, Lord Bedford, Paget, Petre, and Sir John Mason crossed in February, to treat with the French commissioners who would be sent to meet them. Time pressed for England. 'The misery, wants, and exclamations' of Lord Huntingdon were 'very great.'[1] Sixteen hundred pounds of arrears were due to the crews of the ships in Calais harbour, and thirteen hundred to the English infantry. Six thousand pounds a month was 'all too little' for the Lanzknechts in the English pay at Calais and Boulogne, and 800*l.* was the whole sum which was to be found in the Calais treasury. At Boulogne the beer was gone, there was bread for but six days, and the troops were on short allowance, Lord Clinton faring like his men. It was only by constant and expensive exertions that supplies of any kind could be thrown in. February.

The conference was held beyond the river opposite Boulogne. The French were entirely aware of the difficulties of the English, and intended to take advantage of them. The English, flattering themselves with the presence of their troops, intended to ask for the pension which Francis had agreed to pay to Henry VIII., for the arrears of their debts, and for the Queen of Scots, and to accept as much or as little as they could get.

On the 20th of February a truce of fifteen days

[1] *Cotton. MSS. Caligula*, E. iv.

was concluded. The commissioners met, and the French came at once to the point. The English asked for the pension. The French, 'precise and imperious,' asked in return if they thought 'France would be tributary to England.' For the debts, they had been made to spend more in the wars than the debts amounted to, and they held themselves acquitted. 'Pensions they will pay none,' the English commissioners reported, 'nor debts none, nor reason will they have none. They have prescribed, as it were, laws, which they call overtures, that we should make white and relinquish old matters, as well pensions, debts, arrearages, and other quarrels, for which and for Boulogne they say they will give a reasonable recompense in money.'[1]

Paget, in a private letter to Warwick, explained distinctly that the tone which the French had assumed arose from no desire to protract the war: they knew merely that Boulogne was in their power, and they intended to exact the conditions which their strength enabled them to impose.

'These Frenchmen,' he wrote, 'ye see how lofty they be, and haultaine in all their proceedings with us. And no marvel, for so they be of nature; and our estate, which cannot be hidden from them, encreaseth their courage not a little. They will have Boulogne, they say, by fair means or by foul. They will no longer be tributaries, as they term it. They set forth the power of their King, and make of ours as little as they list,

[1] Commissioners to the Council: *Cotton. MSS. Caligula*, E. iv.

with such bragging and braving terms and countenances, as, if your lordship had seen Rochpot,[1] ye would have judged him a man more meet to make of peace a war than of war a peace. Debt they will recognize none, for they say, though they say untruly, that you have made them spend, and have taken upon the seas of theirs, ten times as much as the debt cometh to. Nevertheless, say they, let us have Boulogne, and wipe away all pretences that you make to us, and ask a reasonable sum, and we will make you a reasonable answer; or, if you will not, in respect of your master's young age, acquit his pretences, let us have Boulogne: we will agree with you for it upon a reasonable sum. Reserve you to your master the droicts that he pretendeth, and we to ours his defence for the same—and so to make a peace; and if you afterwards demand nothing of us, we demand nothing of you. Keep you within your limits, which God hath given you, enclosed with the seas—saving your Calais, whereunto ye have been married these two or three hundred years, and therefore God send you joy with it—and we our limits upon the land, and we shall live together in peace. Other bargains than this we will not make.'

Paget expostulated, entreated, threatened. They ought to have been persuaded, but they were dense and resolute. They stood to their demands, and required an immediate answer.

Paget did not hesitate to say that England must yield.

[1] One of the French commissioners.

'Lo, sir,' he went on to Warwick, 'thus standeth the case. Their orgueil is intolerable, their disputations be unreasonable, their conditions to us dishonourable, and, which is worst of all, our estate at home is miserable. What, then! of many evils let us choose the least. First, we must acknowledge what he cannot deny—the evil condition of our estate at home, which recognizance is the first degree to amendment. The next is to know the cause of the evil, and that is war, supposed to be, if not the only cause, at least one of the chiefest among many great. How many—how great occasions of mischief the war hath engendered to England? Ill money, whereby outward things be dearer, idleness among the people, great courages, dispositions to imagine and invent novelties, devices to amend this and this, and a hundred mischiefs which make my heart sorry to mark—these be the fruits of war. Then, if the disease will not be taken away, let the cause be taken away; and war, which is one chief cause, must be taken away. But that shall not be taken away, say the French, save upon this condition—they will have Boulogne for a sum of money, and make peace. Well, what moveth us to stick? Consider if we be able to keep it maulgre the French. Rochpot saith and braggeth that their King is not a King John, but a French King such as conquered Rome, and been feared of the rest, and will have Boulogne again, whosoever saith nay; and telleth us how we are in poverty and mutinies at home—beset all about with enemies, having no friend to succour us, destitute of money to furnish us, and so far in debt as

hardly we can find any creditors. It is good to consider whether it be better to let them have Boulogne again, and to have somewhat for it, and to live in peace.

'The pension is a great matter. It is true, they say, the pension was granted; but the time is turned. Then was then and now is now. It was granted by the French King that dead is to the King of England that dead is, and we will use it as you did when the time served you, for we know your estate, and that you are not able to war with us.'[1]

'Then was then and now is now'—that was the exact truth of the position; and there was nothing to do but to yield handsomely. Parliament had broken up hastily. The Lords and gentlemen had been dispersed in haste to their counties on a menace of fresh insurrection.[2] It had been even found necessary to relinquish a portion of the subsidy granted in 1548.[3] 'Then was then and now is now.'—The Government was in no condition to carry on a war with an empty treasury, forfeited credit, and a disaffected people; and considering the circumstances, the terms which Paget obtained were not unreasonable. On the 24th of March a treaty was concluded, by which the English, within six weeks of the day of signature, were to evacuate Boulogne, leaving the fortifications, new and old, intact, and all the cannon and ammunition

March.

March 24.

[1] Paget to Warwick: *Lansdowne MSS.* 2.

[2] Correspondence of the Commissioners with the Earl of Warwick: *Cotton. MSS. Caligula*, E. iv.

[3] 3 Edward VI. cap. 23.

which had been found in the town at its capture by Henry VIII. The French would pay down for it four hundred thousand crowns, half upon the spot and half in the ensuing August, leaving other claims to stand over. The Scots were included in the peace. The few small forts remaining to the English on the northern side of the Border were to be razed and occupied no more.[1] The war was over, and the excuse for English disorders was at an end.

The Government had now the ground open before them to show what they could do. While the negotiations at Boulogne were in progress, an appeal of Bonner was heard, and rejected by the privy council;[2] he was left in the Marshalsea, and the Knight Marshal demanding a fee of him for some unnamed privilege, and being refused, revenged himself by depriving his prisoner of his bed, and leaving him to lie for a week upon the straw.[3] Ridley, notorious as the opponent of the real presence, was translated from Rochester as his successor in the See of London; Heath, Bishop of Worcester, for his opposition to the Act against images, in Parliament, followed his friends to prison; while the person destined to take Gardiner's place at Winchester, as soon as he too should be deprived, was Ponet, canon of Canterbury, notorious as having married a woman who had a husband living.[4] The See of Westminster,

[1] RYMER.

[2] *Privy Council Records, MS.* Edward VI.

[3] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 65.

[4] She was the wife of a butcher of Nottingham, to whom during his lifetime she was obliged to make an allowance. Ponet in 1551 was divorced from her, and married again. Under the date of July 27, 1551,

founded by Henry VIII., was dissolved and the jurisdiction reannexed to London; Thirlby, his conservative views being inconvenient so near the Court, was removed to Norwich; and under such auspices, the excellent Hooper and his Genevan friends, to whom accurate doctrine was the alpha and omega, the one thing essential, began to see the Gospel more triumphant in England than in any corner of the world except Zurich. Warwick seemed to them a most brave and faithful soldier of Christ,[1] 'a most holy and fearless instrument of the word of God.'[2] John ab Ulmis, a refugee, assured Bullinger that the Earl of Warwick and Lord Dorset 'were the most shining lights of the Church of England;' 'they were, and were considered, the terrour and thunderbolt of the Roman bishops; and they alone had exerted themselves in the Reformation of the Church more than all the rest of the council.'[3] To such men as these it was enough that a certain speculative system which they called the Gospel should be patronized and

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Machyn says (*Diary*, p. 8), 'The new Bishop of Winchester was divorced from the butcher's wife with shame enough.' *The Grey Friars' Chronicle* (p. 70) more explicitly says, 'The 27th day of July, the Bishop of Winchester that then was, was divorced from his wife in Paul's, the which was a butcher's wife in Nottingham, and gave her husband a certain money a year during his life, as it was judged by the law.'

[1] Hooper to Bullinger, March 27, 1550: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ.

[2] Same to the Same, June 29: Ibid.

[3] John ab Ulmis to Bullinger, March 25, 1550: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ. Warwick is generally said to have been the originator and contriver of Somerset's deposition. John ab Ulmis says, on the other hand, 'These men'—Warwick and Dorset—'exerted their influence and good offices on behalf of the King's uncle who had been plotted against, and restored him from danger of life out of darkness to light.'

the opponents of it punished. They asked no more. But the Gospel, considered in its more homely aspect of a code of duty, was not so prosperous in England.

The effect upon the multitude of the sudden and violent change in religion, had been to remove the restraints of an established and recognized belief, to give them an excuse for laughing to scorn all holy things, for neglecting their ordinary duties, and for treating the Divine government of the world as a bugbear, once terrible, which every fool might now safely ridicule. Parliament might maintain the traditional view of the eucharist, but the administration had neutralized a respect which the Lords had maintained with difficulty. Since the passing of the Chantries and Colleges Act, the Government, under pretence of checking superstition, had appropriated all the irregular endowments at the Universities. They cancelled the exhibitions, which had been granted for the support of poor scholars. They suppressed the professorships and lectureships which had been founded by Henry VIII.[1] The students fell off. 'Some were distracted, others pined away in grief, spent their time in melancholy, and wandered up and down discontentedly.'[2] Some, and those the wisest among them, 'took upon them mechanical and sordid professions.' Degrees were held antichristian. Learning was no necessary adjunct to a creed which 'lay in a nutshell.' Universities were called 'stables of asses,

[1] *Annals* of ANTHONY WOOD. Petition of St John's College to the Duke of Somerset, printed by Wood. Lever's sermon at Paul's Cross, 1550.

[2] WOOD.

stews, and schools of the devil.' While Peter Martyr was disputing on the real presence, and Lord Grey was hanging the clergy on their church towers, the wild boys left at Oxford took up the chorus of irreverence. The service of the mass was parodied in plays and farces, with 'mumblings,' 'like a conjuror's.' In the sermons at St Mary's, priests were described as 'imps of the whore of Babylon:'—an undergraduate of Magdalen snatched the bread from the altar after it had been consecrated, and trampled it under foot. Missals were chopped in pieces with hatchets; college libraries plundered and burnt. The divinity schools were planted with cabbages, and the Oxford laundresses dried clothes in the Schools of Arts. Anarchy was avenging superstition, again, in turn, to be more frightfully avenged.

In the country the patron of a benefice no longer made distinctions between a clergyman and a layman. If the Crown could appoint a bishop without the assistance of a *congé d'élire* the patron need as little trouble himself with consulting his diocesan. He presented himself. He presented his steward, his huntsman, or his gamekeeper.[1] Clergy, even bishops, 'who called them Gospellers,' would hold three, four, or more livings, 'doing service in none;'[2] or if, as a condescension, they appointed curates, they looked out for starving monks who would do the duty at the lowest pay—men who would take service indifferently under God or the devil

[1] Bucer to Hooper: printed in STRYPE'S *Cranmer*.
[2] Bucer to Calvin: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ.

to keep life in their famished bodies. 'You maintain your chaplains,' said the brave and noble Lever, face to face with some of these high offenders; 'you maintain your chaplains to take pluralities, and your other servants more offices than they can discharge. Fie! fie! for shame! Ye imagine there is a parish priest curate which does the parson's duty. Yes, forsooth—he ministereth God's sacraments, he saith the service, he readeth the homilies. The rude lobs of the country, too simple to paint a lie, speak truly as they find it, and say 'he minisheth the sacraments, he slubbereth the service, he cannot read the humbles.'' [1]

There is no hope that these pictures are exaggerated; and from the unwilling lips of the privy council comes the evidence of the effect upon the people.[2] The cathedrals and the churches of London became the chosen scenes of riot and profanity. St Paul's was the stock exchange of the day where the merchants of the city met for business, and the lounge where the young gallants gambled, fought, and killed each other.[3] They rode their horses through the aisles, and stabled them among the monuments. They practised pigeon-shooting with the newly introduced 'hand-guns,' in the churchyard and within the walls.

In the administration the investigations which followed Somerset's deposition revealed large fruits of carelessness. 'Whalley,' one of the late Protector's friends,

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[1] Sermon of Lever: printed in STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. iii.

[2] Proclamation for Reform of Quarrels and like Abuses in Churches: *Cotton. MSS. Titus*, B. 2.

[3] *Grey Friars' Chronicle.*

Edward writes in his journal, 'being receiver-general of Yorkshire, confessed how he lent my money upon gain and lucre; how he had paid one year's revenue over with the arrearages of the last; how he bought my own land with my own money; how in his accounts he had made many false suggestions.'[1]

'Beaumont, Master of the Rolls,' Edward records also, 'did confess his offences how in his Office of Wards he had bought land with my own money; had lent it and kept it from me, to the value of nine thousand pounds and above, more than this twelvemonth, and eleven thousand pounds in obligations; how he, being judge in the chancery between the Duke of Suffolk and the Lady Powis, took his title, and went about to get it into his hands, paying a sum of money, and letting her have a farm of a manor of his; and caused an indenture to be made falsely with the old Duke's counterfeit hand to it, by which he gave these lands to the Lady Powis.'[2]

As to the mass of the people, hospitals were gone, schools broken up, almshouses swept away; every institution which Catholic piety had bequeathed for the support of the poor was either abolished or suspended till it could be organized anew; and the poor themselves, smarting with rage and suffering, and seeing piety, honesty, duty, trampled under foot by their superiors, were sinking into savages. From the coast of Sussex was reported the novel and yet unheard-of crime of wrecking. A corn-vessel was driven on shore in a gale;

[1] King Edward's Journal: printed in BURNET's *Collectanea*.
[2] Ibid.

the crew escaped with their lives, and begged for help to save the cargo, but the famished peasants, without other care, plunged upon the corn-sacks.[1] The people, it was said, 'did increase and grow too much disobedient, robbing, killing, hunting, without any fear, for lack of execution of the laws.' The ancient yeomanry were perishing under the new land system;[2] the labourers, chafing on the edge of insurrection, starved, or lived by lawlessness.

The disorganization had penetrated among the traders and manufacturers. English cloth, like English coin, had, until these baneful years, borne the palm in the markets of the world. The Genoese and the Venetian shipowners took in cargoes of English woollens, in the Thames, for the East. English woollens were the staple with which the Portuguese sailed to Barbary and the Canaries, to the Indies, to Brazil and Peru. The German on the Rhine, the Magyar on the Danube, were clothed in English fustian.[3] So it had been once—so it seemed it was to cease to be. The haste for riches, well-gotten or ill-gotten, was become stronger than honour, patriotism, or probity. The guilds were powerless when the officers of the guilds were corrupt. And now came from Antwerp the news that huge bales of English goods were lying unsold upon the wharves, 'through

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[1] Lord Delaware to the Council: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xi. State Paper Office.

[2] Quod omnium miserrimum est nobile illud decus, et robur Angliæ, nomen inquam yomannorum Anglorum fractum et collisum est.—Petition of St John's College to the Duke of Somerset: WOOD'S *Annals*.

[3] Report and Suit of a True-hearted Englishman: printed in the *Camden Miscellany*.

the naughtiness of the making;' and yet more shameful, that woollens, fraudulent in make, weight, and size, were exposed in the place of St Mark with the brand of the Senate upon them, as damning evidence of the decay of English honesty with the decay of English faith.[1]

Such was the state of things which lay before the successors of Somerset. They were called upon to fight against a corruption which had infected the whole community, and among the rest, had infected themselves. It was easier and pleasanter to earn the title of ministers of God by patronizing teachers who insisted on the worthlessness of 'good works,' and could distinguish correctly between imputed and infused righteousness. Yet there were not wanting honest men who saw in what was round them not the triumph of the gospel, but the disgrace and dishonour of it. Latimer, not always practically wise, was consistent in his hatred of evil, and he was not afraid to speak the truth in the face of the world

The preacher was closing the third course of sermons which he had delivered before the Court. The King was present, the privy council, and the household. He spoke of Nineveh and of Jonah. He sketched the condition of England, where profligacy was no longer held a crime, but something to be laughed at; where the law was so weak, that neither the gentlemen could be compelled to do their duty as landowners, nor the people

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1 Harvel to the Council: *Venice MSS.* State Paper Office

be kept from rebellion; where avarice seemed to be the only spirit to which men any longer acknowledged obedience, and the officers of the Government set the worst and most glaring examples.

'And now,' he said, 'I will play St Paul, and translate the thing on myself. I will become the King's officer for awhile. I have to lay out for the King twenty thousand pounds—a great sum, whatsoever it be. Well, when I have laid it out, and do bring in mine account, I must give 300 marks to have my bills warranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what should need me to give a penny to have my bills warranted? If I have done my office truly, and do bring in a true account, wherefore should one groat be given? No man giveth bribes for warranting his bills except the bills be false.'

'I speak to you,' he continued, 'my masters, minters, augmentationers, receivers, surveyors, and auditors. I make a petition unto you. I beseech you all be good to the King. He hath been good to you, therefore be good to him; yea, be good to your own souls. Ye are known well enough what ye were before ye came to your offices, and what lands ye had then, and what ye have purchased since, and what buildings ye make daily. Well, I pray you, so build that the King's workmen may be paid. They make their moan that they can get no money. The poor labourers, smiths, gunmakers, carpenters, soldiers, cry out for their dues. They be unpaid some of them three or four months, yea, some of them half a year. Yea, some of them put up their bills

this time twelvemonths for their money, and cannot be paid yet. They cry out for their money, and as the prophet saith, *Clamor operariorum ascendit ad aures meas* —the cry of the workmen is come up into mine ears. Oh, for God's love, let the workmen be paid if there be money enough, or else there will whole showers of God's vengeance rain down upon your heads. Therefore, ye minters, ye augmentationers, serve the King truly. So build and purchase, that the King may have money to pay his workmen. It seemeth ill-favouredly that you should have enough to build superfluously, and the King lack to pay his poor labourers. I have now preached two Lents. The first time I preached restitution. Restitution! quoth some; what should he preach of restitution? Let him preach of contrition, quoth they, and let restitution alone; we can never make restitution. Then I say, if thou wilt not make restitution, thou shalt go to the devil for it. Choose thou either restitution or else damnation.'

He mentioned a story of some one who, conscience-stricken at one of his sermons, admitted that he had robbed the King, and at different times brought him above 500*l.*, which he had paid over to the exchequer. He had said 'to a certain nobleman that was one of the council, if every man that had beguiled the King should make restitution after this sort, it would cough the King twenty thousand pounds.' 'Yea, that it would,' quoth the other, 'a hundred thousand pounds.' 'Alack, alack!' he concluded, 'make restitution. For God's sake make restitution. Ye will cough in hell else, that

all the devils there will laugh at your coughing. There is no remedy but restitution, or else hell.'[1]

Before the same high audience Lever, at Paul's Cross, attributed the sufferings of the country to the misappropriation of the chantry lands, which had been taken to serve the King in his necessary charges; while 'the King was disappointed,' 'the poor were spoiled,' 'learning decayed,' and the hangers-on upon the council only 'enriched.'

'Because ye have no eyes,' he said, 'ye shall hear it with your ears. You have deceived the King and the Universities to enrich yourselves. Before you did begin to be disposers of the King's liberality towards learning and poverty, there were in Cambridge two hundred students of divinity, which be now all clean gone, not one of them left. A hundred others that had rich friends, and lived of themselves in ostles and inns, be gone, or be fain to creep into colleges, and put poor men from bare livings. In the country, grammar schools, founded of godly intent to bring up poor men's sons in learning and virtue, be now taken away by reason of greedy covetousness in you that were put in trust by God and the King, to erect and make grammar schools. The alms yearly bestowed in poor towns and parishes, to the great displeasure of God, yea and contrary to God's Word and the King's laws, ye have taken away.

'The people of the country say that their gentlemen

[1] LATIMER'S *Sermons before the King.*

and officers were never so full of fair words and ill deeds as now they be. A gentleman will say he loveth his tenant, but he keepeth not so good a house to make him cheer as his father did; and he taketh more fines and greater rents than his father had. Another saith he would have an office to do good in his country; but as soon as he hath authority to take the fee to himself, he setteth his servants to do his duty, and instead of wages, he giveth them authority to live by pillage, bribery, and extortion.

'My lords of the laity and clergy, in the name of God I advertise you to take heed. When the Lord of Hosts shall see the flock scattered, spilt, and lost, if he follow the trace of the blood, it will lead him straightway unto this Court.'[1]

There must have been good influence as well as bad in high places, or Latimer and Lever would not have been allowed to denounce to the world in such style the offences of Government officials. Perhaps the accusations were held to be retrospective, and reflected shame on the displaced Somerset. But this was not the whole.

A return of a nobler and also a wiser spirit began to show itself here and there among individuals. While the endowments of schools and hospitals were fraudulently made away with, and, in spite of the change of Government, continued to be pilfered, the Lord Mayor for the year 1549, Sir Rowland Hill, among other large

[1] Sermon of Thomas Lever, preached at Paul's Cross: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. iii.

charitable grants, founded and endowed a free school at Drayton, in Shropshire. Sir Andrew Judd, his successor in 1550, 'erected a notable free school at Tunbridge,' built a cluster of almshouses for poor men there, and left lands in trust to find a master and undermaster, and the necessary supplies for the pensioners; and the example was followed widely elsewhere.[1]

More remarkable, because implying a vigorous originating understanding, was an attempt, commenced in London by William Cholmley, to create work on a large scale for the men whom the grazing system had thrown out of employment. Accepting the new condition of things, and assuming that thenceforward sheep-farming and cloth-making would form the chief occupations of the country, he set himself to turn the change to advantage with the instinct of a political economist.

English cloth had hitherto been carried to Holland and Belgium to be dyed, and hundreds of thousands of Flemings found lucrative employment in completing the manufacture before it was shipped from Antwerp for other parts of the world. Cholmley having found by experiment that Thames water was as good for dyeing purposes as the water of the Low Countries, imported Flemish workmen to teach his own English servants. Having mastered their secret, he offered his discovery, through the Government, as a free gift to his countrymen; and, in urging the council to take advantage of

[1] HOLINSHED.

his proposal, he added a remarkable prophecy that, if England would develope its manufactures, and rely only upon itself for the completion of them, the trade of Antwerp would droop, and London become the mart of Europe.[1]

The country in due time would reap the fruits of the intellect and enterprise of Cholmley and others like him. The Government of Edward VI. could afford but small attention to such things. The council had but one all-absorbing occupation—to find means, without sacrificing their own share of the public plunder, for paying the debts which Somerset had bequeathed them. The bills of the Flanders Jews, renewed half-yearly with interest at fourteen or fifteen per cent., and twelve per cent. deducted also on the exchange, were a frightful incubus. They must pay, or they must give bonds to pay, in sterling silver, while the Crown rents and the subsidies were paid in a currency which was but half its nominal value; and the problem taxed to the uttermost their financial ingenuity. The four hundred thousand crowns were paid by the French for Boulogne, and perhaps cleared off some trifle of the score; but the possession of so large a sum of money tempted the treasury into speculations which would kill or cure. 'Of the second payment of the French,' says Edward,[2] 'ten thousand pounds were appointed to win money to pay the next year to out-

September.

[1] Request and Suit of a Truehearted Englishman: *Camden Miscellany.*

[2] Journal of Edward VI.: BURNET'S *Collectanea.*

ward countries,[1] and *it was promised that the money should double every month.*' The fate of the ten thousand pounds need not be inquired into. The *Flanders State Papers* contain little at this time but monotonous repetitions of the spendthrift's story—bills renewed as they fell due, and fresh loans to pay the interest of the old.

The currency was the great resource; and a notable scheme was invented by which it was hoped the debts in England could be all cleared off. 'It was agreed,' Edward wrote, 'that Yorke, Master of the Mint at the Tower, should make his bargain with me—viz., to take the profit of silver rising out of the bullion that he himself brought—should pay all my debts to the sum of 120,000*l.* or above, and remain accountable for the overplus, paying no more but 6*s.* and 6*d.* the oz., till the exchange was equal in Flanders—also that he should declare all his bargains to any should be appointed to oversee him, and leave off when I would; for which I should give him 15,000*l.* in prest, and leave to carry 8000*l.* over sea to abase the exchange.'[2]

October.

From this scarcely intelligible entry it would be gathered only that some financial evolution was about to be practised which would make two shillings out of one, or something to that effect; and that the Crown was to commence with a sacrifice of 15,000*l.* The real nature of the project, however, with the probable effects to be expected from it, was explained a few weeks after,

[1] *i. e.*, to the Jews at Antwerp.

[2] Edward's Journal: BURNET's *Collectanea.*

in a remarkable letter from a London merchant to Cecil; and it is well to see with contemporary eyes the extent and bearing of that deep evil which the Government, in despair perhaps of any better resource, persisted in inflicting upon the country—teaching the people to execrate, however unjustly, the very name of a Reformation which had brought so dark a curse upon them.

'Forasmuch,' wrote a certain William Lane to Cecil, 'as[1] you be in place where matters concerning our commonwealth are many times talked of, and I in my heart wishing a redress of things that seemeth to me amiss, I am so bold as to utter to you my judgment in these cases following, without redress whereof our commonwealth shall run headlong into more misery; and for that I see a present mischief in hand or coming, I would it were prevented with speedy remedy.

'Of late not twelve days passed I talked with Mr Yorke of the mint, who showed me that he was in hand to make a new coin of fine silver that should be eleven oz. fine, and coined in pieces of two shillings the piece, whereof five pieces or a little more should make one oz.; whereof I made the reckoning that one oz. of silver fine being sold to the mint at *6s. 8d.*, being coined, should make eleven shillings to be paid out again, or little more or less. I said, although the silver were fine, yet was it too dear and the money naught. He answered, that it was richer than the other money late made, or now amaking, and much other communication we had not.

[1] William Lane, Merchant of London, to Sir William Cecil: *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xiii. State Paper Office.

'Now, forasmuch as it is well known that the exchange between our realm and other foreign realms is the very rule that settleth the price (goods cheap or dear) of almost all things whereof is no scarcity, as well of the commodities and merchandise of this realm as of other foreign commodities brought hither, I will therefore declare what present mischief hath happened since my communication with Yorke, and in these six days hitherward. The exchange as well for Flanders as for France and Spain among the merchants has fallen about seven per cent. by reason of the news of the new coin coming forth, which the people will more better make the reckoning of, and understand the value of now in fine silver, than before in the mixture—which fall of the exchange cometh for fear of the littleness of our silver coin, and is the only cause that all we the merchants of England do rob England and carry away all the gold in the land to foreign realms, for that it is to a more profit than the exchange. And the like of this mischief happened here in England in the months of June, July, and August last, in the which three months were carried out of England not so little as 100,000*l.* of gold (and yet did silver come into England as fast and all for the private gain in coining the silver), for that the pound of gold is richer than the pound of white money; which mischief now present doth cause our gold to be bought up. And when of late the King did call the French crown from 7 shillings to 19 groats, they be now bought up for 7*s.* 3*d.* and 7*s.* 4*d.*, to be carried away as all other gold; so that shortly we shall be quit

of all our rich money for a base coin; and then shall follow a greater fall of the exchange, which is the father of all dearth of almost all things that man occupieth.

'If we in England should coin six years to come so much white money as we have done in six years past of the value that now goeth, the plentifulness of the money and the baseness thereof together should bring our commonwealth to that pass that, if you should give a poor man three shillings a day for his day's labour, yet you should scarce pay him such a hire as he might live thereof, which God defend should come to pass; and the private gain in coining silver is the cause of long continuance in coining still; which excess of gain in coining, and continuance of the same, shall bring to pass as is aforesaid, if speedy redress be not had in that behalf. And yet to new fine our base coin cannot be done without more charge than may be borne of the King or the commons.

'Further, this said fall of the exchange within these four days hath caused, or will cause, cloth to be bought at 56*l.* the pack, which before would not have been bought for 52*l.* the pack; so that you may perceive that the exchange doth engender dear cloths, and dear cloths doth engender dear wool, and dear wool doth engender many sheep, and many sheep doth engender much pasture and dear, and much pasture is the decay of tillage, and out of the decay of tillage springeth the scarcity of corn and the people unwrought, and constraineth the dearth of all things. I have, for these six or eight years passed, perceived our commonwealth to

be grown into such a costliness and chargeableness of living and expense of foreign commodities, a great part not needful, that the trial being made by the King's customs, you shall find that we spend and consume within this realm such sums and quantities of foreign commodities that all the wool, cloth, tin, lead, leather, coal, and other merchandise to be carried out of this realm, is not able to countervail, pay, or recompense for the said merchandise brought into the realm by one quarter part at least. And so long as the bringing in of superfluous commodities shall exceed in value the richness of our commodities carried out, so long and so much must you needs grant me, that our realm is impoverished, either in money or otherwise. That man which spendeth in a year more than the stynte of his lands and travail of his body doth gain, must needs decay and grow into debt, as doth our whole realm in this point. And yet of late days I understand that there is a restraint of lead not to be carried out of England, which, whosoever did invent, studied as much the hurt of the commonwealth as he that invented that no coals should be conveyed from Newcastle into any foreign port but in a French ship, which, although it is but a coal matter, is such a hindrance to a part of our commonwealth as is worthy of redress.

'And, forasmuch as I have spoken of coals, I will say a little more. If it were well-considered what was to be done in the coals of England for the benefit of our land, and an order therein set to the most commodity of this realm, it should be found much more beneficial to

the commonwealth than it is now taken for; for it might well maintain in England three of our decayed towns or cities, besides the setting on work of three hundred ships daily more than it doth, and the mariners thereof.

'But in the mean time, and out of hand, for God's sake, sir, set forward some remedy for the other matter, that we the merchants carry not away all our rich money, and leave the base money here still. Once the excess of the private gain in coining to other men—*supposed as to the King*—may be taken away, and also our base coin of white money called down to fifteen shillings in the pound—though it be not enough, yet will it do great service for the time, and keep many things at a stay which else will come to misery. And although this takes no place, for divers respects known to the rulers and not to me, yet I say there is many more reasons herein to be made which I omit. Sir, I most heartily desire you not to be offended with me for writing this my poor and simple judgment in matters of weight appertaining to councillors or other wise men; for God I take to record, my heart bleedeth in my body to see and perceive the things that be out of frame, and the misery coming towards us, if it be not prevented.'

Free English thought would reform in time the economy of the State, as well as the religion of it; but Governments are deaf to remedies of slow growth. Cecil preserved the letter among his papers—perhaps he submitted it to his chiefs, but to no present purpose.

The immediate scheme of the Master of the Mint came to nothing. His purchase of bullion in Flanders

was interrupted by the authorities at Brussels. But the plate which England could supply travelled along the same bad road, and all the mints, through the whole year of 1550, plied their abominable trade. Zeal against superstition was the universal pretext for the pillage of the churches. The shrines and crucifixes were already gone. This year, 'the King's Highness having need of a mass of money,' an order of council went out for all the plate remaining in all the churches in England to be brought to the treasury.[1] 'All the church plate in the Tower was to be melted into wedges' for the great cesspool;[2] and so narrow was the gleaning, that 'the gold, silver, and jewels' were 'ordered to be stripped' from the mass books, legend books, and such like, in his Highness's library at Westminster. It is to be admitted that the public expenditure was slightly reduced, the debts partially paid off—but it was only by defrauding the public of the means—through the currency.[3] To conceal the trick which they were practising, or to prevent the consequences of it, Warwick and his friends endeavoured to enforce violently an arbitrary system of prices. The harvest of 1550 was a bad one. The existing scarcity was aggravated by a failure of the crops.

[1] *Privy Council Records*, Edward VI. *MS.*

[2] Ibid.

[3] Owing to the carelessness with which the public accounts were kept, it is difficult to ascertain to what the debts of the Crown really amounted at any given time. Bills were renewed as they fell due, and the calculation of money to be provided at any given time only touched what was immediately necessary. It will be seen, however, that, on the whole, Warwick would have accomplished something, had not the remedy which he employed been worse than the disorder to be cured.

The magistrates were ordered to give the farmers everywhere a scale on which they were to dispose of their produce. If they would not sell, the constables were to enter into possession, to survey their yards, their cattle-sheds, and their dairies, and to sell for them, at the official prices, whatever should appear to have been raised for the market, and not for consumption at home: the proclamation having been received with an outcry, the magistrates were to raise the force of the shires if necessary, to arrest and send to London any wanton or disobedient person who ventured to resist.[1]

If it was so difficult, however, to enforce just prices against the opposition of self-interest, it was not to be supposed that English farmers would submit to have unjust prices forced upon them. The council quailed before the howl of indignation which rose over the country when force was threatened. In a few weeks they were compelled to confess their error, and 'from henceforth to suffer articles of food to be at liberty, and to be sold to no other than the buyers and sellers could reasonably agree upon.'[2]

But it was a bad business—not to be forgotten, when we would explain to ourselves why the English nation acquiesced so readily in the reaction under their coming sovereign.

To return to more interesting subjects.

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[1] *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. xi.

[2] *MS.* Ibid.—Sir John Mason, writing to Cecil, condemned the conduct of the Government as utterly wrong and useless. 'Nature will have her course,' he said, 'and never shall you drive her to consent that a pennyworth shall be sold for a farthing.'—TYTLER, vol. i. p. 341.

The Duke of Somerset, on the 18th of February, received a formal pardon.[1] In the beginning of April he resumed his duties as a privy councillor. On the 3rd of June his reconciliation with Warwick was cemented by the union of Lady Anne Seymour with Lord Ambrose Dudley. The summer pageant of the marriage ceremony was at Shene upon the Thames. The King was present, and the French ambassadors also, who had arrived in England on the conclusion of the peace, and had been entertained by the lords in a series of gorgeous entertainments.[2] On the 4th, the day following, Lord Robert Dudley (Earl of Leicester afterwards) was also married at the same place—the fact being chiefly memorable through its consequences—to the daughter of Sir John Robsart.

April.

June.

These scenes of brilliancy had followed close upon another scene which was not so brilliant. In May, Joan Bocher, a Kentish woman, who had been left in prison by Somerset's heresy commission, had been sent to the stake. She was a pious worthy woman, it appears, a friend of Anne Askew, who had died the same death a few years previously. Her crime was an erroneous opinion on the nature of the incarnation; and, inasmuch as the statute for the punishment of heresy by death had been formally repealed, the authorities were obliged to fall back upon the traditions of the common law—much as if a judge

May.

[1] RYMER. [2] EDWARD'S JOURNAL.

in these days was to order a man to be hanged for sheep-stealing, notwithstanding the alteration of the law, because hanging was the ancient traditionary treatment to which sheep-stealers were liable.[1] Ridley reasoned with Joan the day before her execution: 'it was not long ago,' she said, 'since you burnt Anne Askew for a piece of bread, yet came yourselves to believe the doctrine for which you burnt her; and now you will burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will believe this also.'[1] She would not recant, and so she died, being one of the very few victims of the ancient hatred of heresy with which the Reformed Church of England has to charge itself. Yet, although Protestants were instinctively more susceptible of the altered feelings which the progress of time and of the world brings with it—although earlier than Catholics they awoke to a wiser judgment of the nature of theological errors—the doctrine of persecution is nevertheless an essential part of all dogmatic systems, and the causes which first compelled the Reformed Churches to toleration, have acted more slowly, but with equal

[1] The panegyrists of Edward VI. have described his pathetic agony at signing the death warrant. The entry in his Journal on the subject shows no particular emotion. It is a notice of the punishment of a criminal for an offence for which he certainly had no sympathy.

'Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary, being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion—the 30th April the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Ely were to persuade her, but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death.' —Edward's Journal: BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 208.

[2] STRYPE, *Memorials*, vol. iii.

effect, upon their rival. The Court of Rome could as little venture at the present day to send an unbeliever to the stake, as the Court of St James's; and the code of canon law for which the Reformers of the Church of England desired the sanction of Parliament, was no more tolerant of what the Church of England considers heresy, than the code of the Inquisition.[1]

The council could prosecute heretics. They were earnest, too, in the purification of the faith from superstition. The conscientious acceptance of the Prayer-book was possible as yet to believers in transubstantiation. The Prayer-book, with the help of the foreign refugees, was about to be revised, and Ridley was no sooner settled in the See of London, than he undertook

[1] Cranmer and the other authors of the *Reformatio Legum*, include, in a list of heresies, 'The denial of the inspiration of the Bible,' or 'of the inspiration of the Old Testament,' or 'of the two natures in Christ.' For the way in which these opinions were to be dealt with, they say: 'Fideles omnes in nomine Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi obtestamur ut ab his opinionibus pestilentissimis se longissime abducant. Et ab illis etiam vehementer contendimus qui rempublicam et ecclesiam administrant ut istas hæreses ex regno nostro penitus evellendas et radicitus extirpandas quantum in se est curent.'

A heretic was to be tried by a bishop. From a bishop he might appeal to the Court of Arches, and from the Court of Arches to the King's Bench.

'Qui vero,' the proposed law continued, 'qui vero nec admonitionem nec doctrinam ullâ ratione admittunt sed in Hæresi prorsus induraverunt, primum hæretici pronuntientur. A judice deinde legitimæ feriantur excommunicationis supplicio. Quæ sententia cum lata fuerit, si infra spatium sexdecim dierum ab hæresi recesserint, primum exhibeant publice manifesta pœnitentiæ indicia. Deinde solenniter jurent in illâ se nunquam hæresi rursus versaturos. Tertio contrariæ doctrinæ publice satisfaciant, ac his omnibus impletis absolvantur——Cum vero penitus insederit error . . . tum consumptis omnibus aliis remediis ad extremum ad civiles magistratus ablegetur puniendus, etc.'—*Reformatio Legum.*

in his own diocese to anticipate the alterations. On the 11th of June, at night, the altar at St Paul's was taken down, and a table erected in its place, signifying in the change that the body of the Saviour was no longer broken and offered in the sacrament, but that human beings merely partook together of innocent bread and wine.[1] The council followed up the Bishop, and directed the same change to be introduced throughout England. The Bishop of Chichester, hesitating to obey, was summoned to London, and shut up with Gardiner, Bonner, and Heath. The Bishop of Durham, who was also one of the recusants, being one of Henry's trustees, was less easy to deal with. A charge of conspiracy was brought against him;[2] but it broke down for want of evidence, and for the present he was left at liberty. Dr Chedsey was sent to the Fleet for seditious preaching, and White, the warden of Winchester, for having in his possession anti-Protestant books.[3] June 11.

The next movement—in the confidence that the Emperor was not in a situation to resent it—was against Mary; and the consequences were more serious than the council expected.

I must again review briefly the state of things on the Continent. On the 10th of November, 1549, the chair of St Peter fell vacant. Paul III. had ended his pontificate—broken-hearted, it was 1549. Nov. 10.

[1] STRYPE, BURNET, STOW. *Grey Friars' Chronicle.*
[2] *Records of Privy Council, MS.*
[3] *MS.* Ibid; STRYPE's *Cranmer.*

said, at the revolt of his grandson Octavio; but his age (he was 82), and the anxieties and labour of the fifteen years of his reign, would rather cause surprise at the strength which had endured so long. Men who have spent their lives in political battles, who have had some years' experience of the dispositions of their fellow-creatures, do not die of small disappointments, and the intellectual sinew of Paul would not have been broken by the disobedience of a boy. Yet, if by such a cause his last hours were embittered, he was punished in his solitary weakness of affection for his kindred. If consistency and dauntless bearing command respect wherever they are found, Paul III., as a ruler of men, may claim a place among the politically great. On the death of Clement VII. the Papacy was dying, the human life was gone from it. But the phantom had risen from the grave, and was again towering up over Europe in menacing grandeur. Scotland had been saved; France, which was trembling on the edge of revolt, had returned to partial allegiance; the Smalcaldic League was broken; and, in dying, Paul might feel that the Reformation had spent its force, that the worst was over.[1] But who was to

[1] Clarissimæ memoriæ Princeps . . . arma sæpius moverat adversus Christi hostes, Catholico sanguine a se nunquam respersa. Inchoaverat diuque promoverat concilium ex obstaculis perarduum, ex rebus in eo agitatis amplissimum, et ad reparandam disciplinam prævalidum, inter reliqua, quæ unquam in ecclesiâ coaluissent. Immoderato suam erga stirpem amore se hominem prodidit. De reliquo herois nomen apud ecclesiam nactus est.—PALLAVICINO.

Of the personal character of Paul III. strange stories were afloat. Before his death a pamphlet appeared dedicated to one of the Colonnas, and ascribed to Bernard Ochin—(the account of it is given by Sleidan)—charging Paul with crimes which the

succeed? France had its nominee, and the Empire had its nominee. Reginald Pole offered himself in the interests of religion. An Italian faction, under the young Cardinal Farnese, Octavio's brother, held the balance among the rival parties, and Farnese was said to be Imperial. It was reported at Brussels that he had promised Charles twenty voices in favour of any one that he might name; and scandal added that, to settle all questions, Charles might perhaps nominate himself.[1] Such a solution of European difficulties would have been as complete as it was, unfortunately, impossible. The cardinals went to work at the end of December, and the first favourite was Pole. Farnese was personally for him, the Imperialists were not against him, and Pole at one time was so confident of success, that he composed an oration to the conclave to be delivered on his election.[2] But the Italians generally were lukewarm, and the French were hostile. Once, at a midnight meeting, if we may believe a theatrical story of Beccatelli, there was a moment when the feeling was so far in his favour that he might have been chosen on the spot by adoration. But the opportunity, if it existed, was allowed to pass. Morone, a decided Imperialist, was proposed

annals of the Borgiàs would not parallel. The writer, with circumstantial minuteness, declares that the Pope in his youth had been imprisoned for two murders—that he had poisoned his mother and one of his nephews—that he had poisoned a sister whom he had first corrupted, &c.

The probability is immeasurably great, that all charges produced long after date against persons who have excited the animosity of a theological or political faction are lies.

[1] Sir Thomas Cheyne to the Council: STRYPE, vol. iii. p. 298.

[2] Gratiani: quoted in PYE'S *Life of Pole*.

next, and proposed by Pole himself; but the French were able to keep out Morone, though unable to carry their own candidate Salviati; and, in the end, Farnese brought forward the president of the council at Bologna, Cardinal del Monte; del Monte having privately promised that, if elected, he would forsake France, no longer oppose the Emperor, restore Parma to Octavio, and reunite the council at Trent.

Easy, timid, and self-indulgent, Cardinal del Monte was a neutral character on which opposing factions could agree. On him the choice fell at last; and under the name of Julius III. he occupied (his dwarfed dimensions could not fill) the vacant throne of Paul III. His first act showed the conduct which was to be looked for from him. A Pope, on his election, was allowed by custom to bestow the red hat which he vacated at his own private pleasure. Julius III. raised to the high dignity of a cardinal a favourite and beautiful page who had the care of his Holiness's monkey. The new Jupiter, the irreverent world exclaimed, had taken up into heaven a second Ganymede.

So much for the Papacy. The Emperor now supposed that his difficulties would be at an end. The council would collect again at Trent, and the Germans would be compelled to submit to it. The Diet was summoned to meet at Augsburg at midsummer; Prince Philip was sent for from Spain; and theological and political questions merging into one, the representatives would be invited, not only to give their allegiance to the council, but to make the Empire hereditary, and to

nominate Philip as Charles's successor. Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and presumptive successor, had promised, it was said, to relinquish his pretensions in Philip's favour;[1] and though Ferdinand disclaimed any such engagement, and his son Maximilian had no inclination to make way for his cousin, the Emperor believed that he could bear down opposition. The Pope was in his interests, and the Catholic States of Germany would act as the Pope wished; while they were secretly promised that the Lutheran divines should appear at the council, not as members upon equal terms, but as accused persons, upon their trials.[2]

Magdeburg continuing to hold out against the Interim, was declared under the ban of the Empire. The London council having followed in the ways of Somerset, there was no longer a question of a renewal of intimacy with England. After a quarter of a century of patience Charles imagined at last that he could declare himself openly as the enemy of heresy in all its forms.

On the 29th of April, before leaving Brussels for the Diet, he issued an edict for the government of the Netherlands, which bore in time its fatal fruit in the Alva persecutions. He had done his best, he said, by moderate measures to keep his subjects to the true faith. He had learnt, to his sorrow, that not only were they infected too deeply to be cured by moderate means, but that foreigners who traded amongst

[1] Sir John Mason to the Council: TYTLER, vol. i. p. 296.
[2] Ibid.

them (he alluded particularly to the English), were systematically spreading contagion in their towns. Be the consequences what they might, heresy should now come to an end; heretical books should circulate no longer in his dominions; he would have no conventicles, no re-baptizings, no conspiracies, no disputings on doubtful passages in Scripture. The saints should receive their honours; the municipal liberties of the towns should no longer protect evil deeds and evil doers; and he would trifle no longer in inflicting punishment.

'Men and women,' said the Emperor, 'who disobey my command shall be punished as rebels and disturbers of public order. Women who have fallen into heresy shall be buried alive, and men shall lose their heads, even if they desist from their errors; if they continue obstinate, they shall be burnt; and whichever be their punishment, their goods shall be forfeited:[1] they shall be incapable of making a will: from the moment of their proved delinquency, their acts as citizens shall be null and void: if man or woman be suspected of heresy, no one shall aid, protect, or shelter him or her; they shall be denounced to the nearest inquisition. Those who have fallen into heresy, who of their own accord have repented and been received to grace, if they again reason or argue on the subject of their errors, shall be

[1] J'ordonne que ceux qui agiront contre ces défenses soient punis comme séditieux et perturbateurs du repos public, et je condamne les femmes à être enterrées toutes vives, et les hommes à perdre la tête en cas qu'ils désistent de leurs erreurs, mais tous à être brûlés s'ils y demeurent obstinés, et à la confiscation de leurs biens quelque supplice qu'ils subissent.—SLEIDAN, vol. iii. p. 64.

punished as relapsed: those who are suspected, although there be no proofs against them, shall abjure and do penance; no honour, public office, or dignity whatsoever, shall be conferred on any man who has once been tainted: no stranger shall be admitted to a lodging in any inn or private house unless he bring with him a testimonial of orthodoxy from the priest of the place where he has resided. The inquisitor-general shall have power to examine into the belief of every man, from the highest to the lowest, and all and any officers of all kinds shall assist the inquisitor, at their peril if they neglect or refuse; those who know where heretics are concealed, shall denounce them, or shall suffer as heretics themselves: those who give up heretics to justice shall not be liable to punishment, though they be themselves heretics, if they will for the future conform. And the penalties hereby threatened shall be inflicted, and shall not be relaxed; and judges who neglect their duty shall not escape unpunished. Those who are cited and do not appear shall be assumed to be guilty, and treated as guilty; those who intercede for offenders shall suffer as abettors of heresy.'

The circumstantial minuteness of the edict carried terror into every town in the Low Countries. Orthodoxy was no security, unless accompanied with the extinction of all human charity. From city and village streams of refugees poured out toward the ports, and on board vessels bound for England. England became the island of refuge to which the exiled Flemings brought with them their arts and industry; and, as forlorn

and naked they set foot upon the British shores, the honourable humanity with which they were received, sheltered, and sustained must be counted among the not too many virtues of Edward's ministers. Austin Friars was made over to those who remained in London, with lands and farms to support their clergy; and the clergy themselves were enrolled as a body corporate and exempt from the Bishop's jurisdiction.[1] The Duke of Somerset at his own expense established a colony of Walloon weavers among the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey.[2]

The Emperor meanwhile went resolute to Augsburg, where he carried a vote in the Diet binding Germany to submit to the Council of Trent. The Duke of Mecklenburg entered the territory of the Magdeburgers. They made a sortie upon him, and were defeated utterly, with the loss of their artillery. The fate of Lutheranism appeared to be sealed; yet the Magdeburgers still would not surrender. Surrender, they said grandly, implied the mass, and the mass they would receive never. But they could die without difficulty; they made up their minds to the worst; and the news of the edict in the Low Countries did them service, bringing the old soldiers of the Landgrave and the Elector to their aid in thousands. In all reasonable probability, however, their resistance was hopeless. The Diet voted a force, the command of which they petitioned the Emperor should be given to Duke Maurice. The Emperor, who, notwith-

[1] RYMER.

[2] *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

standing the Duke's resistance to the Interim, and his suspicious absence from Augsburg (he had been represented there by deputy), either trusted him or did not choose to appear to distrust him, consented; and Maurice relieved the Duke of Mecklenburg, took the field in November, and laid formal siege to the city.

It was at this moment, when the Emperor was at the height of his confidence, and England was harassed, distracted, and impoverished, that the opportunity was taken to withdraw the privilege from the Princess Mary of using her own religion, and of compelling her to submit to the Act of Uniformity. When a hint of what was intended went abroad, the Imperial ambassador made a formal request that she should not be interfered with. He was met with a direct refusal; and although no immediate steps were taken, yet Mary had reason to know that before long constraint would be used towards her, and arrangements were contrived between herself and the Regent of the Low Countries for her escape to Antwerp. The Flemish admiral, Skipperus, was on the coast of Essex, and had been inspecting the landing-places.[1] The princess was to ride down some night, under cover of the darkness, from her house at New Hall, and Skipperus would be in the way to carry her off. The project was not new. On her mother's death, fifteen years before, a similar escape had been contemplated, and had been relinquished, perhaps out of dread

April 15.

July.

[1] Edward's Journal, July 13; BURNET'S *Collectanea*, p. 21.

of Henry's resentment.[1] The difficulty was now less considerable. Mary was older and more experienced. Her escape, it was thought, would be easy, and when accomplished, would be followed by war and insurrection.[2] The peers of the old blood, more than ever discontented at the aspect of public affairs, had withdrawn in displeasure to their estates; and as Warwick attached himself more and more to the ultra-Protestants, a second schism was making itself felt among the council. A State paper, unfortunately imperfect, reveals the opinion of Sir William Cecil on the seriousness of the situation.

'The Emperor,' says this paper, 'is aiming at the sovereignty of Europe, which he cannot obtain without the suppression of the Reformed religion; and unless he crushes the English nation, he cannot crush the Reformation. Besides religion, he has a further quarrel with England on account of the Lady Mary, and the

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[1] The plan is detailed in a long letter from the French Ambassador to Charles V., dated Feb. 17, 1536, among the archives at Brussels. The ambassador's alarm for himself is expressed with much emphasis. 'S'il estoit question d'entendre et procéder à l'exemtion de la dicte enterprise, il ne seroit l'honneur de votre Majesté que je restasse icy: car tout le monde ne sauroit oster de crédulité à Roy par quelque couleur ou couverture que l'on y sçait donner, qui ne tint que fusse l'inventeur et promoteur du tout: et par conséquent chose du monde ne me pouvoit eschapper qu'il ne me fit passer le pas. Car en ce comme autres choses voudroit il montrer sa grandeur et donne d'entendre qu'il n'a respect ne crainte de personne.

[2] There came divers advertisements from Chamberlain, ambassador with the Queen of Hungary, that their very intent was to take away the Lady Mary and so to begin an outward war and an inward conspiracy. — EDWARD'S *Journal*, August 14.

[3] Argumenta periculi nisi cùrâ divertatur, imminentis.—In Cecil's handwriting: *MS. Germany*, bundle 15, State Paper Office.

Catholic party will leave no stone unturned to bring about our overthrow. We are not agreed among ourselves. The majority of our people will be with our adversaries;[1] and it is reasonable to think that, although so long as all is quiet the Crown can maintain tranquillity, should war break out, they will listen rather to what they will consider the voice of God calling on them to restore the Papacy, than to the voice of the King calling on them to obey.[2] The great body of the peers—some of the council—all the bishops except three or four—almost all the judges and lawyers—almost all the justices of the peace—the priests and vicars—will be on the same side; and the commons are in such a state of irritation, that they will rise at a word.'

To add to the peril, there seemed a danger of a fresh rupture with France. In the late peace all questions save that of Boulogne had been reserved for future settlement, and among these were many which could

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[1] 'Non consentimus inter nos ipsos, neque major multitudo defensare est hanc causam sed potius susceptare adversariorum causam. Major pars magnatum qui absunt ab aulâ, et aliqui eorum qui hic etiam agunt, Episcopi omnes præter tres aut quatuor, judices et legisperiti pæne omnes, justiciariorum pæne omnes, presbyteri et sacrificuli qui suam [agunt] plebem movere possunt in quâvis parte; quia universa plebs irritatur adeo ut facile velit sequi mutationes quascumque.' This paper has a date upon it of November, 1551. But the date on papers of loose notes cannot always be depended on, and internal evidence would refer it rather to November, 1550. By the next year there were more than three or four bishops on the Reforming side.

[2] Nam ut aliqua æstimatio habeatur cogitandum est quamdiu princeps quietum habeat regnum, tamdiu legibus possit suos regere. Sed si in arma ob defensionem causæ forte fuerint vocati, tum dubium est velintne audire principis vocem, an ut illi indicant Dei pro restaurando Papismo.

not be allowed to lie over. In the anomalous character of the war, during its earlier stages, merchant ships had been taken on both sides by privateers, and it was uncertain whether they were lawful prizes. The French desired that a joint commission should sit to settle all maritime claims. The English council said that they had no power by law to consent to such a commission; their own Admiralty Court had been constituted for the express purpose of dealing with maritime questions, and dealing with them by the civil law of Europe, not by the common law of England. The complaints of French merchants against English cruisers must be heard there or nowhere.[1]

[1] 'As concerning the commissions, answer has been made that in all the Parliaments and generally all the courts of France where law is ministered, though some places have their particular customs, the law civil is observed, kept, and practised, and so it is likewise in the great courts of Brabant, Flanders, and Malines. So that it is easy enough, either for the French King or the Emperor, to appoint persons in any of the said courts or Parliaments to hear any cause that the princes shall think good to appoint and commit unto them. But throughout all this realm of England, in all the courts of justice, are observed the laws of the realm, and all causes and controversies judged by the same, so as no other laws have place —which laws of the realm are not the civil laws, nor are grounded upon them, nor have no conformity unto them, so as the knowledge of the civil law serveth nothing at all for the understanding or exercising of them. Wherefore the King's Highness can appoint none out of his ordinary courts of this realm to hear any kind of causes unless the said causes be judged and determined by the laws of the realm, and not the civil law. And we think the French King's subjects, being ignorant of the said laws of the realm, would not gladly have their causes and matters judged thereby. . . . Thus it is that forasmuch as strangers are not acquainted with our laws, to shew them favour, the King's Highness's progenitors have thought good to erect and set up a court of matters chanced upon the seas or out of this realm; in the which court process is made and justice is minis-

Another cause of difference was the Calais frontier. On the edge of the Pale an abbey had stood called Sandingfeldt, which, in old times, with the estates attached to it, had, as Church property, been neutral ground. The abbey had been suppressed, and the land secularized, but the rights over it asserted by the English were denied by the French. They, too, on their side, entered into possession, built farms, and broke the ground, and a series of petty collisions had followed between the labourers.[1]

On the part of the English Government, a third grievance appeared, which seemed as if it was caused by a feeling of revenge for their bad success in Scotland. The natural route from Paris to Edinburgh lay through London. The Archbishop of Glasgow, returning out of France, neglected to apply for a passport; he was taken prisoner, and held to ransom; and Lord Maxwell, who did apply, was refused.[2] The prisoners taken at St An-

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tered according to the law civil, the which court is called the Admiralty Court; where the said strangers' causes are examined, whether the controversy be between themselves or against the King's subjects. And to the intent that strangers should have the better expedition of their causes, it is ordained that in the said court that process be made *summarie et de pleno*. And for because that the chief resort of all strangers in this realm is London, therefore the said admiral hath set up his court at London. These things considered, we cannot see nor devise how the French King's subjects' causes may be discussed more for their ease and commodity than in the said Admiral's Court.' —The Council to Sir John Mason, September, 1550: *MS. France*, bundle 9, State Paper Office.

[1] *MS. France*, bundle 9, State Paper Office.

[2] The council gave a curious reason for their refusal. 'The common passage of Scots and Frenchmen through the realm,' they said, 'is so cumbrous and hurtful to the King's Majesty's subjects, that therein is daily complaints made of the

drew's, though still detained in France, had been released from the galleys and prisons at the peace, through English intercession. The French Court desired that the Archbishop and other Scotch prisoners in England should be set at liberty in return.[1] Mason, instructed by the council, said that, if the Scots might go where they pleased, the Archbishop should go also. Henry answered good-humouredly, but nothing was concluded.

Two factions continued to divide the Paris Government. The Ultramontanes, the Guises, and Catherine de' Medici, were for peace and alliance with the Emperor. They hated England; they desired to follow up at Calais their success at Boulogne, and they made the most of these petty disagreements. Montmorency and the King inclined to the older anti-Austrian policy, and the tone of the Court changed from day to day.[2]

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outrages and evil usages of the King's subjects by such Scots and French as daily pass through the realm by post. And yet because we would not seem ungrateful, we have licensed such Frenchmen as come expressly from the French King, or that be commanded by their ambassadors here. And certainly there is double more passage of the French King's servants through this realm than is of the King's Majesty's own —insomuch as for the ease of the people no Englishman here is suffered to ride by post, but upon his own horse.'—Council to Mason: *MS. France*, bundle 9, State Paper Office.

[1] 'I have, at your request,' said the French King to Mason, 'set at liberty the Scots, which else, by yon sun, should have rotted in their prisons, so cruel was their murder. By my troth, I cannot tell how to answer the world for lack of justice —one good turn deserves another.' —Mason to the Council, July 20: *MS.* Ibid.

[2] Doctor Wotton, writing to Cecil, said: 'The danger is lest our trusty and well-beloved, I dare not say right trusty and well-beloved, friends of France, will use the occasion when she serveth for their purpose; and knowing the great desire that they have to live at peace with us—that is to say, to have Calais again—(for the keeping thereof, they

The English council, on mature thought, released the Archbishop, and Henry released the Scots; but Mason wrote that he had no confidence, and knew not what would happen. 'Trust them,' he said, 'as you will best trust to yourselves; and the best trusting of another is so to trust him as, if he would deceive, he shall not be able to bring his deceitful intent to pass.'[1]

Owing to cross influences and want of will, the other differences could not be arranged. The Constable and the King declared privately their own desire that peace might be maintained, but with an evident doubt if it would be possible. 'Means might be found,' they hinted, that is to say, the English might, if they liked, relinquish formally their claims on the Queen of Scots, and accept a French princess for Edward in her place. That would be something, but without it the Guises' influence would probably prevail.

At length, Mason wrote, in the last week of December, 'in a great assembly at the Court, some one,' probably the Duke of Guise himself, 'in a studied oration persuaded the war against England, and to declare the likelihood of good success therein, he set forth the lack of government, of captains, of victuals, money, and munition; and the people,' December.

say, is the only cause of any war betwixt us, and they having recovered that once from us, would not fail ever after to live in peace with us), an orator of less eloquence than Tully might peradventure persuade me that our said friends, having such occasion, would have as much respect to their commodity as to their promises.'—Wotton to Sir William Cecil. *MS. France*, bundle 9, State Paper Office.

[1] Mason to the Council, November 3: *MS.* Ibid.

he said, 'were so ill-contented, as never looked the lark so much for the day as they did for the entry of some foreign prince; so was it the easiest thing in the world not only to annoy England, but *de nous emporter de tout*, and now was the time to recover all the dishonour that France had in times past sustained by that peevish isle.'[1]

Indeed, the ambassador said, something must be done, and done quickly; 'were it nothing more than the stay of our own people at home; we are at this present so loose with all the world, that our surety hangeth as it were but in the wind; a strait league with a notable knot would restore unto us our reputation abroad, which undoubtedly is not undecayed.'[2]

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[1] Mason to the Council: *MS. France*, bundle 9, State Paper Office.

[2] Among the *Cotton MSS. Vespasian*, D. 18, is a paper on the state of public affairs by William Thomas, clerk of the council, addressed to Edward, to whom at this time he was acting as a sort of political tutor. It is headed, 'My private opinion touching your Majesty's outward affairs at the present,' and has been printed by STRYPE: *Memorials*, vol. iv. p. 382. The following extract is the sketch of the position of England:—'Time was, in the days of your father of famous memory, that this estate, being dreaded of all neighbours, needed not to esteem any of them more than itself was esteemed; but now the case is so altered, that, because we are both hated and contemned of them all, we must either redeem our estimation or else perish. One of two things must be won—either friendship to help us, or time to make ourselves strong. As for friendship, I see not which way any is to be gotten without either an extreme disadvantage or the denying of our faith, neither of which is tolerable. And as I believe it is impossible we should have any perfect amity with any foreign prince that dissenteth from us in religion, so, because we have no neighbour of uniform religion, we can find no friend whose amity is to be trusted. Wherefore we must of force turn unto time, to see how much we may win thereof, and what we may win withal; and because neither is our

Never perhaps was England in a position which demanded greater skill, wisdom, and energy; and what were her statesmen doing? and what had they been doing? They had prevented Mary's escape; and they had not as yet forcibly altered the service in her chapel. They had taken precautions also for their own personal security; a hundred yeomen had sufficed to guard the Court in the stern times of Henry VIII.; in the era of liberty it was necessary to raise them to a thousand.[1] For the rest, they were engaged June.

force so ordered that we may trust thereby to win time, nor our treasure such as may purchase it, therefore our extremest shift is to work by policy. We have two puissant princes to deal withal—the French King, a doubtful friend; the Emperor, a dissembling foe. The one hath done us already displeasure; the other we are sure will do it if he can. For what quarrel hath he to the Germans but religion, wherein he hath sworn rather to spend his life than not to reduce it to his own manner? and when he shall have overcome those few that rest, which are of small account in respect of his power, where shall he end his fury but against us? I wot well that some are of opinion that Magdeburg with the confederate cities shall keep him occupied a while. Some others add that the Germans are not yet won to the Papistical sect; and some others reckon upon the Turks coming into Hungary. But I am persuaded the Emperor estimates this matter of Magdeburg very little, and much less the German Protestants, and least of all the Turks; and we have great cause to mistrust both his purposes and himself. On the other side, the French King is already in possession of Scotland, and practiseth in Ireland amongst a people that loveth liberty, and for every small hope of gain will be ready to revolt, wherein, if he should prevail, we might reckon ourselves besieged, and in manner environed of enemies.

'So, when time shall draw either of their swords, and we unprovided, as presently we are, then must we either perish or be a prey to the one of them, or, at the best, receive intolerable conditions. For, say what men will, our power without some friendship is of small substance—yea, though we were all as good subjects as Edward III. had, whereas now I fear me there be as well hollow as whole hearts to be found.'

[1] This day it was debated whether it was convenient that the King's Majesty should have a number of

on two matters of grave magnitude—the prosecution of Gardiner, and the great vestment controversy.

The Duke of Somerset was again powerful. In the signatures of the council to public Acts his name once more headed the list. On the 28th of May he carried the nomination of Hooper to the bishopric of Gloucester, against a vehement opposition;[1] and he showed a disposition to re-assert his old pretensions, which alarmed either the jealousy or the regard of Warwick.[2] In some directions, however, he was inclined to use his recovered influence wisely. Ashamed perhaps of the part which he had himself borne in the treatment of the Bishop of Winchester, he moved in council, on the 8th of June, that, considering the Bishop's long imprisonment, if he would now conform himself and be obedient, he should be restored to his diocese.[3] The Duke, Bedford, Northampton, Petre, and the Earl of Wiltshire, went to Gardiner to the Tower, taking with them a copy of the Prayer-book. If he would accept it without reserve, they told him he should be released.

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men at arms in ordinary, as well for the safety of his Majesty's person as for the stay of his unquiet subjects, and for other service at all events, which, after long disputation, was thought and concluded upon as a thing very necessary.'—*Privy Council Records, MS.* February 25, 1550-51. From the accounts of subsequent musters and reviews, nine hundred or a thousand seems to have been the number of men maintained.

[1] John ab Ulmis to Bullinger: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ.

[2] Whalley to Cecil, June 26, 1550: *MS. Domestic*, vol. x. State Paper Office. This letter has been printed by Mr Tytler, and introduced by him into his defence of Somerset; but he has mistaken the date by a year, and on the date his argument turns.

[3] *Council Records, MS.*

The Bishop said that he had been treated with injustice; but, for that matter, he was ready to let the past be the past: as to the Prayer-book, if he accepted it as a prisoner, it would seem as if he had accepted it under constraint; he desired them, however, to leave the book with him; he would examine it, and give them an answer. They complied, and after a few days they returned. The Bishop then told them that, if he had had the making of the book, he would not pretend that he would have made it as it was; but the doctrine of the real presence being recognized, his conscience was satisfied; he would obey the law, and do his best to make his clergy obey. This seemed to be enough. He was weary with his imprisonment, he said. They promised that it should not last any longer; in two days he should be free. The rumours of his approaching liberation spread over London; he himself gave his farewell dinner at the Tower; and the Duke of Somerset, had it rested with him, would have kept his word.

But it was the misfortune of Somerset that he could not do one thing at a time; or, perhaps, in making the promise, he had exceeded his powers. The connection of Warwick with the ultra-Protestants created on his part an extreme unwillingness to see Gardiner again at liberty. Somerset was exerting himself at the same time to obtain the pardon of two of the Arundels, who had been concerned in the Cornwall insurrection. He had taken the part of the Earl of Arundel, who was in disgrace and had been fined;[1] and Warwick's faction

1 'My Lord of Warwick is a most dear and faithful friend unto

suspected him of aiming at the recovery of the Protectorate. They determined to thwart him, therefore, in his attempt to undo his own early injustice; or if Gardiner was to be at large, he should be fettered with other conditions beyond a mere consent to the Prayer-book.

July 8. A month was allowed to pass. At the end of it, on the 8th of July, Warwick, Ridley, and Sir William Herbert carried to the Tower a set of articles for the Bishop's signature, in which he was required to admit the right of the council to exercise, during a minority, the powers of the head of the Church; in which he was to approve the repeal of the Six Articles Bill, with the disuse of fasting; and further, to confess that he had broken faith with the Government, had offended the law, and deserved his punishment.[1]

my Lord's Grace (of Somerset). His whole nature was vehemently troubled with his Grace's proceedings of late. Sundry times overcome with the full remembrance thereof, he showed the inward grief of his heart with not a few tears.

'The sum of all was, that my Lord's Grace hath so unadvisedly attempted the enlargement and delivery of the Bishop of Winchester and the Arundels, as also his Grace's late conference, as he taketh it, with my Lord of Arundel, it pleased him, I say, to be so plain with me as he letted not to say the whole council doth much dislike his late attempts.'—Whalley to Cecil: June 26, 1550; misdated by TYTLER, June 26, 1551. *MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

[1] 'Whereas I, Stephen Gardiner, have been suspected as one too much favouring the Bishop of Rome's decrees and ordinances, and as one that did not allow the King's Majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, and was convented before the King's Highness's council and admonished thereof: and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach, have not done as I ought to do, although I promised to do the same, whereby I have not only incurred the King's Majesty's indignation, but also divers of his Highness's subjects have by my example taken

Gardiner signed the articles of faith; he would not degrade himself with signing a confession of fault. He had suffered wrong, but he had committed none, and he would rather, he said, 'tumble himself desperately in the Thames' than plead guilty when he knew that he was innocent. Even if he 'condemned himself,' he could feel no certainty that he would not be betrayed.[1] The privy councillors were resolute on their side. The Bishop might make his submission in other words, if he preferred it; but he should admit himself in fault, or in the Tower he should remain. He begged, 'for the passion of God,' that, if he was guilty, he might be put on his trial, and his guilt proved. He exclaimed against the iniquity of a confinement to which no law had condemned him, and which no justice sanctioned. Ridley told him calmly, 'that it was the hand of God. He was there because he had so troubled other men.'

His subscription to the articles had given the council an advantage over him, and they pursued it. On the

encouragement, as his Grace's council is certainly informed, to repine at his Majesty's most godly proceedings; I am right sorry, therefore, and acknowledge myself condignly to have been punished, and do most heartily thank his Majesty that of his great clemency it hath pleased his Highness to deal with me, not according to rigour, but mercy; and to the intent that it may appear to the world how little I repine at his Majesty's doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the commonwealth most prudent, I do affirm, and say freely, without any compulsion, as ensueth.' — *Privy Council Records, MS.* Printed in the account of the proceedings against Gardiner in FOXE, vol. vi.

[1] 'Although I did more esteem liberty of body than defamation of myself, yet, quoth I, when I had so done, yet was I not assured to come out; for when I was by mine own pen made a naughty man, I might only have locked myself more surely in.'—Gardiner's Statement on his Trial: FOXE, vol. vi.

July 13. 13th of July, besides the required admission of guilt, a fresh list was presented to him, containing propositions dogmatically Protestant, which he was not only required to sign, but to undertake to teach and preach.[1]

He was weary of the Tower. He had surrendered himself to the hope that he was to be free, and he could not part with it. He refused to sign, and again demanded a trial; but he threw himself on the King's mercy; he would accept a pardon, he said, and in ac-

[1] 1. That King Henry, for good reason, suppressed the monasteries, and released monks and nuns from their vows.

2. That all persons might lawfully marry within the Levitical degrees.

3. That pilgrimages and image worship were justly put away.

4. That the counterfeiting St Nicholas, St Clement, St Catherine, and St Edmund, by children, heretofore brought into the church, was a mockery and foolishness.

5. That the Bible in English was good for every man to read, and whoever would hinder the reading did evil and damnably.

6. That the chantries were justly suppressed.

7. That the mass was a fiction of the Bishop of Rome.

8. That Communion in both kinds was to be approved.

9. That the priest should receive for the congregation was an invention of man.

10. That the elevation of the Host had been justly and wisely prohibited.

11. That the King had done well in removing the images from churches.

12. That the King and Parliament had done well in abolishing mass books, grayles, &c.

13. That bishops and priests may lawfully marry.

14. That the laws prohibiting their marriage had been justly repealed.

15. That the doctrine of the homilies was good and wholesome.

16. That the book of the consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons was godly and wholesome.

17. That the *Minores Ordines* were wisely disused.

18. That Holy Scripture contained all things necessary to salvation.

19. That it had been well done to set up the *Paraphrase* of Erasmus in the parish churches.

cepting it confess that he had offended. The council saw his weakness, and determined to trample on him. He was sent for on the 19th to the presence chamber. The articles were read over to him, and his signature demanded on the spot. He once more insisted that he should be tried. They said he should not be tried—he should submit unequivocally without further words. He was allowed three months to consider his answer; his bishopric, meanwhile, was pronounced sequestered; if at the end of that time he was still obstinate, he was to be deprived.[1]

Remanding Gardiner to the Tower, they took the opportunity of inflicting a special wound on his supporter the Duke of Somerset.[2] On the 18th of October, before Gardiner's answer was delivered, old Lady Seymour, Somerset's mother, died; and a State funeral would have been the natural and becoming privilege of the grandmother of the reigning sovereign. If she was buried privately, the Duke might have been accused of disrespect to the Crown. If he ordered a public solemnity on his own responsi- October 18.

1 The account of Gardiner's treatment is taken from the Register of the Privy Council and from his own narrative, printed by Foxe (vol. vi.), and from the story told by Foxe himself, who disguised and apologized for nothing, regarding the whole proceedings, in fact, as most exemplary and just.

2 Doubtless there was reason to distrust Somerset's intentions, and he had not forgotten his overbearing ways. Being desirous of adding to his property in Somersetshire the episcopal palace at Wells, in this same July he required the Bishop (Barlow) to surrender it. Barlow hesitating to give away the property of the See, the Duke threatened, if he would not go, 'to push him out headlong.'—*MS. Domestic*, Edward VI. vol. x.

bility, it might provoke jealousy. If he appeared at Court in mourning, it would imply that the Court itself should be in mourning. He thought it prudent, therefore, to consult the council, and this was the result:— The Lords 'weighed with themselves that the wearing of doole and such outward demonstrations of mourning not only did not any ways profit the dead, but rather served to induce the living to have a diffidence of the better life to come to the departed in God by changing of this transitory life; yea, and divers other ways did move and cause scruple of coldness in faith unto the weak.' They reflected, 'besides, that many of the wiser sort, weighing the impertinent charges bestowed upon black cloth and other instruments of those funeral pomps, might worthily find fault with the expense thereupon bestowed.' 'Considering, therefore, how at this present the observation of the times of outward mourning and wearing of the doole was far shortened and omitted, even among mean persons, from that it was wonted to be; considering, further, how private men should reserve their private sorrows to their own houses, and not diminish the presence of their prince with doleful token,' the council, or 'the King,' for they used his name, 'did specially dispense with the said Duke for the wearing of doole either upon himself or upon any of his family, or the continuing of other personal observances such as heretofore were had in solemn use, as serving rather to pomp than to any edifying.'[1]

[1] *Privy Council Records, MS.* Edward VI.

So singular a theory of the duties of the living to the dead, if sincere, had been hastily adopted, and with equal haste was forgotten. On the 4th of August Lord Southampton had been buried with the usual solemnities, and the funeral sermon had been preached by Hooper. On the 7th of the ensuing March, Wentworth, the Lord Chamberlain, was interred in Westminster Abbey, when 'there was a great doole,' says Machyn,[1] and 'a great company,' and 'Miles Coverdale did preach.'

The three months allowed to Gardiner had now expired, and, after all, for the sake of decency, a trial, and a very tedious one, was conceded to him. A court was formed at Lambeth, where Cranmer presided Ridley, Sir William Petre, Sir James Hales, and two other bishops sat as assessors.

The case opened on the 15th of December, and the voluminous and weary proceedings were protracted through twenty-two sessions. The Lords of the Council, the officers of the Court, the clergy of Winchester, Gardiner's personal servants, in all more than eighty witnesses, were examined. Dec. 15.

The Bishop was accused of having attempted to create a disturbance in his diocese. The charge broke down. He was accused of having armed his household. It was replied that, in common with other gentlemen, he had put his house in a state of defence, in consequence of the disorders of the country. He was convicted of having professed conservative opinions: he

[1] MACHYN'S *Diary*, March, 1551.

was proved to have been suspected by Henry VIII. of a tendency towards Rome, and his name had been therefore omitted from the list of executors. He had been concerned further, three years before Henry's death, in the prosecution of various members of the royal household, when his conduct had been especially displeasing to the King:[1] and it was proved further that Henry believed he had held some secret communication with the Emperor, at the time of his last embassy, on the state of religion in England.

But for these offences he could not be plausibly punished. The prosecution, therefore, turned upon his sermon. He had complied inadequately with the royal injunctions. He had aggravated his offence by irreverent demeanour towards his judges. He was declared, therefore, to have been guilty of a misdemeanour against the commonwealth; and he was pronounced, on the 14th of February, by the president, to be deposed from his bishopric.[2] When his sentence was read, he called his judges 'heretics and sacramentaries.' The council sat the day following to determine on his further punishment; and they decided not only that he should remain in the Tower, but, whereas up to this time he

[1] His past history was searched with the most zealous scrutiny. Every expression which Henry ever used in his disfavour had been treasured up, and was produced against him. It is quite certain, therefore, that, if there had been so much as a basework of truth for the Protestant legend of his attempt to destroy Catherine Parr, it would have been made the most of on this occasion. I look on that story, not as exaggerated reality, but as pure unadulterated fable.

[2] The whole account of the proceedings, with the depositions of the witnesses, is in the sixth volume of FOXE.

had resided in the King's gallery with some comfort, had been allowed the use of the Tower garden, and his friends had been permitted to visit him—he was now 'to be removed to a meaner lodging,' he was to hold no communication with any person out of doors, his books were to be taken from him, and 'henceforth he should have neither pen, ink, nor paper, to work his detestable purposes.'[1]

Having seen that their orders were executed, the council transmitted an account of the proceedings to the ambassadors at foreign Courts, as something, on the whole, creditable to the Government of a great country.

Seeing that the two great military powers of the Continent were both of them threatening England, and a war with either would probably scatter the whole Protestant party to the winds, the other great question with which they were agitating themselves seems at such a time even more singular.

In the last Parliament a service for the consecration of bishops and priests had been added to the formularies, and had given offence to the ultra parties on both sides. The Anglican was frightened at the omission of the oil, which might impede the transmission of the apostolic powers. The Protestant was outraged at the continued use of 'vestments,' which marked the priesthood as a peculiar body; 'at' the oath 'by God, the saints, and the holy Gospels,' which bishops were to swear on

[1] *Privy Council Records, MS.* Edward VI.

admission to their sees, and at a use of the Bible, which savoured of magical incantation.[1]

March 27. When the service was published, Hooper, the most prominent, but at the same time by far the best and most high-minded of the fanatical faction, denounced it in a lecture before the Court, as treason to the gospel. Cranmer complained of his language to the council, and Hooper was invited to explain himself. The Archbishop spoke with unusual vehemence; but Hooper, who tells the story, says 'that the end was to the glory of God.'[2] His friends supported him, and he was dismissed unpunished.

After this it was no small triumph to his party that, on the death of Wakeman, Bishop of Gloucester, Hooper

May. was nominated, by Somerset's influence, as his successor, in the teeth of the whole Episcopal bench. It was understood that in his own person the prelate elect intended to resist the idolatrous usages. 'Hooper,' wrote Christopher Hales to Gualter, 'was appointed Bishop of Gloucester two days since, but under godly conditions. He will not allow himself to be called my lord, as we are wont to say; he will not

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[1] The archbishop, after consecration by the imposition of hands, was to place the Bible on the neck of the new bishop. The agitation of the Protestants prevented them from being able to describe accurately what was required of them. Burcher, telling Bullinger of the ceremony, says: 'The Bishop create must carry the Bible on his shoulders, put on a white vestment, and thus habited, and bearing the book, he is to turn himself round three times.' —Burcher to Bullinger: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ.

[2] Hooper to Bullinger: Ibid.

receive the tonsure; he will not be made a magpie of;[1] nor will he be consecrated or anointed.' 'At his nomination,' said John ab Ulmis, 'a great struggle was made about the ceremonies and vestments of the Popish priests—say, rather, stage actors and fools; but Hooper was victorious.'[2] It must be said that Hooper had not himself courted elevation. He was an unselfish agitator, and when the bishopric was first proposed to him he refused it.[3] But he was the representative of a principle, and his narrow but conscientious inflexibility fitted him to be the champion of an opinion. Edward who was now fourteen, and was steadily taking a part in public business, was one of his chief admirers, and Edward, with Warwick's help, carried his point so far as the powers of the council extended. The abolition of the *congé d'élire* made the appointment a matter only of letters patent. The oath being to the Crown, the Crown could alter the form or dispense with it. When Hooper pointed out the objectionable name of 'the saints,' the young King flushed up indignantly zealous. 'What wickedness is this?' he said. He took a pen and scratched out the word.[4] But the consecration service could not be so easily got over. It had been affirmed by Act of Parliament; and, although the bishops could have been forced to consecrate by a premunire, had the

[1] *Non vult pica esse*—to be dressed in black and white, and chatter by rule.—Hales to Gualter, May 24: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ.

[2] John ab Ulmis to Bullinger, May 28: Ibid.

[3] Hooper to Bullinger, June 29: Ibid.

[4] John ab Ulmis to Bullinger, August 22: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ.

difficulty been on their side, a premunire could not compel a reluctant nominee to undergo a ceremony which he disapproved.

Cranmer, who had once maintained that the Crown alone could make a bishop, had modified his views. The bench was unanimous that the service must be maintained. As doggedly Hooper declared that he would wear no vestments, he would have no Bible on his neck, he would not change his coat for the best bishopric in England. Warwick interceded, and the boy King talked of putting out the power of the supremacy and dispensing. But Ridley would have no dispensation, and Hooper would have no surplice, and the public world of the Reformers was shaken to its base. The English divines in general took the side of the bishops; the foreign divines were expected to be on the side of the gospel; and Hooper turned first to Bucer, who was then lecturing at Cambridge. To the sad discouragement of the ultra party, Bucer believed that there were things in the world more important than vestments. He had expressed his opinion freely to the council on the condition to which they were reducing England. About the time when the Hooper controversy began, he had told Calvin that there was no religion at all in England. The bishops, he said, were snarling about their doctrines, the lords were appropriating the Church estates and plate, and in their hearts cared nothing for the Reformation at all; clergymen professing to be Evangelicals held four or five livings, and officiated in none; repentance, faith, and good works—the vital

parts of religion—no one thought of at all; and unless God worked a miracle for the sake of the innocent King, some great catastrophe could not be far off.[1] In such a disposition he could feel small sympathy with a fever about a white dress and a few gestures. To Hooper's appeal he replied coldly, that for himself he preferred simplicity, when simplicity could be had; but while the great men in England were giving benefices to their grooms—when the services in churches were left to be performed by men who could not read, and might as well be Africans or Hindoos as English—while congregations employed their time in laughing and story-telling, other things, he thought, should be first attended to: if earnest men would set themselves to contend against perjury, and adultery, theft, lying, and cheating, 'the very bones and sinews of Antichrist, whereof

[1] Res Christi hic geritur ut nisi Dominus innocentissimum et religiosissimum regem atque alios aliquot pios homines singulari respiciat clementiâ, valde verendum sit ne horrenda Dei ira brevi in hoc regnum exardescat. Inter Episcopos hactenus de Christi doctrinâ convenire non potuit, multo minus de disciplinâ — paucissimæ parochiæ idoneos habent pastores: pleræque venumdatæ sunt nobilibus: sunt etiam ecclesiastico ordine atque ex iis quoque qui Evangelici videri volunt qui tres aut quatuor atque plures parochias tenent nec uni ministrant, sed sufficiunt sibi eos qui minimo se conduci patiuntur, plerumque qui nec Anglice legere possunt quique corde puri Papistæ sunt. Primores regni multis parochiis præfecerunt eos qui in cœnobiis fuerunt ut pensione eis persolvendâ se liberarent qui sunt indoctissimi et ad sacrum ministerium ineptissimi. Hinc invenias parochias in quibus aliquot annis nulla sit habita concio.

Cum de hâc tam horrendâ ecclesiarum deformitate querelæ deferuntur a sanctis hominibus ad regni proceres dicunt his malis mederi esse episcoporum. Cum deferentur ad episcopos evangelium pridem professos respondent illi se ista emendare non posse, &c.—Bucer to Calvin, Whitsuntide, 1550: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ, p. 356.

he altogether consisted,' the wearing of apparel would in all likelihood admit of settlement afterwards.[1]

Finding no comfort from Bucer, the suffering Hooper turned to Oxford to Peter Martyr; to meet, however, with the same indifference. Peter Martyr told him, like Bucer, that the thing was of no consequence at all—that it was foolish and wrong to quarrel about it. When changes were being introduced of vital moment, the retention of outward forms was not only tolerable, but of high importance and utility; the imaginations of the people were not disturbed, their habits were not shocked; they would listen the more quietly to new doctrines, and the form in due time would follow the matter.[2]

[1] Bucer to Hooper: printed in STRYPE'S *Memorials*. In the same spirit Bucer wrote to Alasco the Pole, who was President of the foreign congregation at Austin Friars.

'The more diligently,' he said, 'I weigh and consider both what fruit we may gather by this controversy of vestures, and also what Satan goeth about thereby to work, I would have wished before the Lord that it had never once been spoken of; but rather that all men of our function had gone stoutly forward, teaching true repentance, the wholesome use of all things, and the putting on the apparel of salvation.

'I see in many, marvellous diligence in abolishing Amalek concerning stocks and stones, vestures, and things without us, when in their acts and lives they maintain the whole Amalek still. I know that some help forward this strife, so that in the mean time the chief essentials may be less regarded, the staying of sacrilege, and the providing decent ministers in the parishes.

'In all outward things the churches should be left free. If white dresses can be abused, they can also be used innocently. Let the white dress be taken to signify the purity of the Christian life. There can be no offence then; and officers of all kinds must wear something to distinguish them, that their office may be known and respected.' —Bucer to Alasco: *Epistolæ* TIGURINÆ.

Bucer died a few months after; his companion, Fagius, was already gone; good men both of them, Bucer especially, who at such a time could be ill spared.

[2] Peter Martyr to Hooper: STRYPE'S *Cranmer*.

Strange it seemed to Hooper that such men could not see that the evils which they spoke of as of so much importance were the fruits of Antichrist, not the substance of him. It was the form which gave the soul to the matter. The surplice was, as it were, Satan's magic robe and enchanter's cloak of darkness—the secret of his strength and power. Alone he must fight the battle of the Lord, then. His pulpit rang, Sunday after Sunday, with invectives against disguised Popery. He became so violent at last, that he was inhibited from preaching, and commanded to confine himself to his house. His tongue being silenced, he wrote a pamphlet, in which he reflected upon the council; and on the 12th of January he was committed to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be 'either reformed or further punished, as the obstinacy of his case required.'[1] In the intervals of Gardiner's trial, Cranmer endeavoured to reason with him; but he found him 'coveting rather to prescribe order to others' than to obey; and to make an end of the matter, the council sent him to the Fleet. 1551. January.

Here, at last, he recovered his senses. The King excused him the oath. He himself agreed to wear the Nessus garment during the few hours of consecration, if he might tear it off before it had poisoned him, and in his own diocese might wear it or not wear it, as he pleased.

So closed this child's battle, leaving us at no loss to

[1] *Privy Council Records, MS.*

understand how before long England might weary of such men and such men's teaching.

The dispute with the Emperor was now threatening to precipitate itself. The council having forbidden Mary her mass, and having prevented her from escaping out of England, Chamberlain, the English resident at Brussels, wrote on the 12th of January to say that, contrary to the privilege of his office, he had been interdicted in return from using the English communion service.[1] The Flemish ambassador was sent for, and was told that, if Chamberlain was interfered with at Brussels, the council would be obliged to withdraw his own license in England. He said he would report their message; meanwhile in his master's name he repeated the demand which he had presented in the last year, that the Princess Mary should be allowed to continue in the religion in which she had been educated. When the English Court desired the Emperor's alliance against France, they had given him to understand that the license which she then had should be continued. They had given a promise, in fact, and the promise must be fulfilled.

The council replied that there had been no promise; there had been a conditional toleration for a time, but circumstances had altered, and it was withdrawn. The ambassador answered peremptorily that there had been a promise; and that it had been made to the Emperor himself. The council said it was impossible; no one

[1] *Privy Council Records, MS.*

among them had authority to make any such engagement; and for the thing itself, 'the example was too perilous in any commonwealth to grant a subject license to violate the law;' 'it was too dangerous for a Christian prince to grant a liberty that one of his subjects should use a religion against the conscience of the prince.'[1]

Chamberlain was ambassador in the Low Countries. Sir Richard Morryson was attached to the Court of Charles, and followed him wherever he moved. Through Morryson, therefore, the direct communications of the council were transmitted. They on their side sent their account to him of what had passed. The Flemish ambassador sent his. Morryson reported that the Emperor had received both versions with the greatest displeasure. As to Chamberlain or himself, no services, Charles swore, should be used in his dominions by any foreigners, ambassadors or otherwise, except the ancient services of Christendom. If his own ambassador was interfered with in England, he had orders to leave the country in an hour. Let the council meddle with him if they dared. Feb. 22.

The council were too obstinate to yield, too cowardly to persevere: for the moment they did nothing; but they made use of the opportunity of an accidental change of residence, on the part of Mary, to excite suspicion against her, and call out a popular demonstration of patriotism which would strengthen their hands.

[1] The Council to Sir Richard Morryson: *MS. Germany*, bundle 1, State Paper Office.

They issued a circular, expressing a fear that she was in correspondence with foreign powers who contemplated an invasion of England, and they called upon her to appear at the Court and explain herself.[1] Mary obeyed. In the midst of a demonstration indeed, but not such as the Lords had hoped and desired, she rode into London surrounded by a retinue of peers, knights, and gentlemen, every one ostentatiously wearing a chain of beads. After resting two days at a house at St John's, she went in the same state

March.

[1] 'This her doing' (her change of residence from Essex to Hertfordshire) 'we be sorry for, both for the evil opinion the King's Majesty our master may thereby conceive of her, and for that by the same doth appear manifestly the malicious rancour of such as provoke her thus to breed and stir up, as much as in her lyeth, occasions of disorder and unquiet in the realm, wherein we know there lacketh not both labour and means of those that be strangers to this realm, and would gladly have the realm so disordered in itself, that it might be a prey to the foreign nations; which thing, as God hath hitherto defended, so we nothing doubt but that, through his grace conserving us by obedience to our master in concord, we shall always, as true and mere Englishmen, keep our country to be England, without putting our heads under Spaniards' or Flemmings' girdles, as their slaves and vassals. It is not unknown to us, but some near about the Lady Mary have very lately, in the night season, had privy conference with the Emperor's ambassador here being, which counsels can in no wise tend to the weal of the King's Majesty our master in his realm, nor to the nobility of the realm. Wherefore, since these be the unseemly proceedings of the Lady Mary, and as it should appear, set forward by strangers to make some disorders of the people in the realm, knowing how of late years the base sort of people have been evil-inclined to rebellion, we do, in the King's Majesty's behalf, most earnestly desire you to see to the order of your counties, and prevent any disturbance arising among the people. The effect whereof, if her councillors should procure, as it must be to her Grace and to all other good Englishmen therein seduced, damnable, so shall it be most hurtful to the good subjects of the country.'—Circular of the Lords of the Council: *MS. State Paper Office*, March, 1551.

through Fleet-street and the Strand to Whitehall, amidst the benedictions of tens of thousands of people.[1] To the fevered imaginations of the citizens, the earth appeared to shake. 'Men in harness' were seen sitting in the air, who 'came down to the ground and faded away.' 'Three suns appeared, so that men could not discern which was the true sun.' The Princess alighted at the palace gate. She was first introduced to the King, and afterwards she went at his side to the council chamber. 'It was then declared to her how long her mass had been suffered in hope of her reconciliation;' as that hope had ceased, it was to be suffered no longer. What was said of her supposed intrigues, or if anything was said, is not certain. The mass was the great question on which all else was turning.

Mary, whose will had never yielded to man, except it was her father, replied that her soul was God's. She would not change her faith, nor would she 'dissemble her opinions with contrary doings.' The council told her that no constraint was laid upon her faith. She must conform her practice. She was not a king to rule, but a subject to obey the laws. Her example might breed inconvenience.[2]

Consistent, however, to her plea, that laws made in a minority were no laws, she would neither admit their argument, nor flinch in her own resolution. The interview led to no results. Mary left the presence, and

[1] Machyn's Diary: *Grey Friars' Chronicle.*

[2] EDWARD'S *Diary.*

returned to the house in Essex, from which her removal had been made the pretext of agitation.

The council took no further steps for the next two days. On the 19th the 'Emperor's ambassador'[1] 'came with a short message from his master of war'—the liberty which he demanded for the Princess Mary or *war*—and Cecil's expectation seemed to be on the edge of fulfilment.

'The Earl of Warwick,' Sir Richard Morryson writes, in describing his conduct on this occasion,[2] 'had such a head, that he seldom went about anything but he conceived first three or four purposes beforehand.' Warwick was meditating an alliance with France, could it be effected. But it might not be effected, and Edward's health was precarious, and he was unwilling therefore to come to an open breach with the Emperor, or to make an irreconcilable enemy of Mary. At the same time he had cast in his lot with the extreme Protestants, to whom Edward was more and more attaching himself. He must therefore keep friends with all, 'that he might, as time should teach him, allow whether of them he listed, and fall in with him that might best serve his practices.'

On the delivery of the Emperor's message, when the councillors were looking in one another's faces, he suggested they were inadequate judges in a case of conscience, and they should consult the bishops. Cranmer,

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[1] EDWARD'S *Journal*, March 19, 1551.

[2] Discourse of Sir Richard Morryson: *MS. Harleian*, 353.

Ridley, and Ponet were sent for. 'The realm, the bishops were told, was in great peril, and like to be utterly undone, if either the Emperor would take no nay or the King would give him no yea;' in such extremity, was it lawful to yield?

The bishops asked if war was inevitable, should the King persist? Being told that there was no hope of escaping it, they begged for a night to consider their answer. The following morning they gave an opinion, as the result of their deliberation, that—

'Although to give license to sin was sin, yet if all haste possible was observed, to suffer and wink at it for a time might be borne.'[1]

The King's attendance was then requested. As Edward entered, the Lord Treasurer (Paulet, Earl of Wilts) fell on his knees, and told him that he and they and the realm were about to 'come to naught.' They must give way, pacify the Emperor, and let the Princess do as she desired; the bishops said that it might be done.

'Are these things so, my Lords?' said Edward, turning to them. 'Is it lawful by Scripture to sanction idolatry?'

'There were good kings in Scripture, your Majesty,' they replied, 'who allowed the hill altars, and yet were called good.'

'We follow the example of good men,' the boy answered, 'when they have done well. We do not follow

[1] Compare Morryson's *Discourse* with Edward's *Journal*, March 20, 1551

them in evil. David was good, but David seduced Bathshebah and murdered Uriah. We are not to imitate David in such deeds as those. Is there no better Scripture?'

The bishops could think of none.

'I am sorry for the realm, then,' the King said, 'and sorry for the danger that will come of it; I shall hope and pray for something better, but the evil thing I will not allow.'

So Morryson tells the story, to set off the noble nature of Edward. If Edward, however, was as unreasonable, and the bishops were as absurd, as Morryson describes, wiser arguments proved more conclusive in favour of moderation.[1] To gain time, the council delayed their answer to the ambassador. They determined, not, for the moment, to put a stop to the Princess's mass, but to punish all who attended it except herself; and when the ambassador became pressing, they promised to send a special commissioner to the Emperor, who, it was hoped, would satisfy him. Forced into prudence at last by the peril of the situation to which they had brought themselves, they sent Sir William Pickering at the same time in haste to the Court of France, to ascertain if, on the terms which Henry had hinted to Mason, they could strengthen themselves with some kind of alliance.

If England, however, was still saved from the consequences of the incapacity of its rulers, it again owed

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[1] EDWARD'S *Journal*, March 21.

its preservation to fortune. The events of Europe had turned the scale at Paris against the schemes of the Guises, and the recovery of Calais was postponed for a few more years. Octavio Farnese, with his duchy of Parma, had been driven backwards and forwards in the eddies of Italian politics. He had been Imperialist when Paul III. kept him from his possessions; he had been reinstated by Julius; but Julius, now on good terms with the Emperor, had attempted again to eject him; and, to save himself, he had thrown himself upon France. Gonzaga still held Piacenza. A French garrison was in Parma. The Pope, to settle the differences between the great Powers, proposed that the duchy should be reannexed to the States of the Church. To this, however, Octavio refused to agree. The French said they would evacuate Parma if Gonzaga would evacuate Piacenza; but neither would begin, and each considered the presence of the other a ground for war. The dispute would have come to nothing had there been no other provocation; but the promised return of the council to Trent, with the attempts of Charles to convert the Empire into a despotic sovereignty which he could transmit to his son, roused in Henry of France the spirit of his father; and the unexpected resistance of the Free Towns held out a prospect of reviving his father's policy in supporting the Germans. April.

Magdeburg would not fall. The siege had been formed in November, 1550. In January the Magdeburgers made a sortie happier than their first, cutting

to pieces the Mecklenburg troops and taking the Duke prisoner. Maurice of Saxe, instead of reducing the city, was complaining to Charles of the continual captivity of the Landgrave of Hesse, and attempting some kind of compromise. But the Magdeburgers would hear of no compromise. They would have their freedom —either that or death. Their sacrilegious hands had melted their church bells into cannon, and torn up tombstones for fortifications; yet the cannon did their work, and the fortifications were none the weaker for the material of which they were made. The Elbe was open, and provisions were introduced in abundance. Hamburg and Bremen declared on their side, and the Lutherans in Maurice's army refused to serve against the champions of liberty. The siege made no progress; and if one city could resist successfully, all Protestant Germany would recover heart at the example. The old combination of Francis I. therefore threatened to revive. Henry sent money to Magdeburg.[1] He renewed his alliance with the Turks. The council of Trent was to meet in May; but a separate Gallican synod was again talked of, and letters were actually issued for the assembly of the French bishops. Henry protested, indeed, that he would merely consult his prelates on the repression of heresy;[2] but his excuses were but half believed; it was much doubted whether France would be represented at Trent; and the French ambassadors at Rome were instructed to tell the Pope that the at-

[1] Mason to the Council, April 18: *MS. France*, State Paper Office.

[2] PALLAVICINO

tendance of the Gallican bishops might depend on the admission of the Lutherans.[1]

It was at this conjuncture that the English difficulty came to a point with the Emperor. Warwick had been already corresponding privately with the French Court, and the result of Sir William Pickering's mission was the immediate arrival in London of an agent of Henry.[2] The terms of alliance could not be settled on the spot, but an understanding was arrived at sufficiently clear for present purposes; and on the 10th of April the council were in a position to take up the gauntlet which Charles had flung before them. Doctor Wotton was despatched to Brussels with instructions to say that 'the form of prayer, or usage of the communion, was a thing established by law by consent of Parliament, by which the whole estate of the realm and the King's person were ruled, being such an universal and high court as there was none in all English policy to be compared to it, and therefore supreme over all persons in the realm:' that the Lady Mary was a subject of the realm, and must submit, like others, to the law. As to the ambassadors, if Sir Thomas Chamberlain was allowed to use the English communion in Flanders, the Flemish ambassador might use the mass in England, and if not, not. Friendship could not exist without equality, and the reciprocity which England demanded was no more than was conceded to Turks in Christendom and to

[1] Morryson to the Council, April 2: *MS. Germany*, State Paper Office.

[2] Council to Morryson, April 6: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. State Paper Office.

Christians in Turkey.[1] Immediately after, Doctor Mallet, one of Mary's chaplains, was arrested and sent to the Tower. Pickering was appointed resident ambassador at Paris, and the Garter was sent to Henry.

Irritated and baffled, Charles turned his first indignation upon the Pope, who, he affected to believe, had been dealing underhand with the French.[2] But the suspicion, if sincere, was without ground. The Pope was innocent of fault, unless incapacity was a fault. He summoned Octavio to appear in Rome within thirty days, and answer for his disobedience; if he failed to present himself, he, his adherents, and abettors were declared excommunicate.

'How shall your King do now?' said Morryson to the French ambassador at Augsburg. 'The Bishop of Rome hath excommunicated all such as give aid to Octavio. Doth he not excommunicate your master, his council, his soldiers, yea, and his horses too?'

'Ma foye,' said the ambassador, 'his words are very large, and perhaps he may stir hornets so long, that the sting will stick, when he shall not be able to pull it out.'[3]

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[1] Instructions to Doctor Wotton: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. State Paper Office. Compare EDWARD'S *Journal*, April, 1551.

[2] 'The Emperor snuffeth at the alteration of Parma, but he turneth all his outward displeasure towards the Pope, who he will not believe but hath been a worker therein, and in his choler he said lately—Si je me demasque je le montreray que je ne suys personage a qui il se doibt jouir.' —Mason to the Council: TYTLER, vol. i. p. 356.

[3] 'I do know,' Morryson adds, 'the ambassador understandeth the chief points of religion well, and would, I think, be glad it were lawful in France for bishops to be honest men. Certain I am, he is not a

And Maurice once more attacked Magdeburg and failed, 'and waxed annoyed with his evil luck,' and began also to correspond with France; and the German Diet refused to nominate Philip as the heir of the Empire, and Gonzaga laid siege to Parma, and the Italian war began again.

Sadly and sullenly Charles rode through Augsburg on the afternoon of the 25th of May. He passed John Frederick, who, on the wayside with his guard, 'made low obeisance.' 'The Emperor cast up his eye, and put his hand towards his cap,' and went on silent, moody, and stern.[1]

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little nettled that the Bishop should extend his excommunication so far.'—Morryson to the Council. May 5: *MS. Germany*, Edward VI. Ibid.

[1] Morryson to the Council, May 26: *MS.* Ibid.

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